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THE  
L I F E  
AND  
ADVENTURES  
OF  
ROBINSON CRUSOE

By DANIEL DE FOE.

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Cooke's Edition.

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VOL. II.

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EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS.

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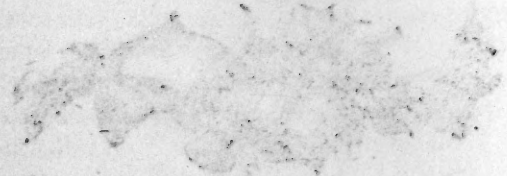
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LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. COOKE, No. 17,  
FATER-NOSTER-RQW.

THE  
HISTORY OF  
ART  
ADVENTURES  
ROBINSON CRUSOE



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# LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF ROBINSON CRUSOE.

## VOLUME THE SECOND.

I AM now to be supposed to be retired into my castle, after my late voyage to the wreck, my frigate laid up, and secured under water as usual, and my condition restored to what it was before; I had more wealth indeed, than I had before, but was not at all the richer; for I had no more use for it, than the Indians of Peru had before the Spaniards came thither.

It was one of the nights in the rainy season in March, the four-and-twentieth year of my first setting foot in this island of solitariness, I was lying in my bed, or hammock, awake, very well in health, had no pain, no distemper, no uneasiness of body, no, nor any uneasiness of mind more than ordinary, but could by no means close my eyes; that is, so as to sleep; no, not a wink all night long, otherwise than as follows—

It is as impossible as needless, to set down the innumerable crowd of thoughts that whirled through that great thoroughfare of the brain, the memory, in this night's time: I ran over the whole history of my life in miniature, or by abridgement, as I may call it, to my coming to this island; and also of that part of my life since I came to this island; in my reflections upon the state of my case, since I came on shore on this island, I was comparing the happy posture of my affairs, in the first years of my habitation here, to that course of anxiety, fear and care, which I had lived in ever since I had seen the print of a foot in the sand; not that I did not believe the savages had frequented the island even all the while, and might have been several hundred of them at times on shore there; but as I had never known it, and was incapable of any apprehensions about it, my  
satisfaction

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satisfaction was perfect, though my danger was the same; and I was as happy in not knowing my danger, as if I had never really been exposed to it; this furnished my thoughts with many very profitable reflections, and particularly this one—‘How infinitely good that Providence is, which has settled in its government of mankind such narrow bounds to his sight and knowledge of things; and though he walks in the midst of so many thousand dangers, the sight of which, if discovered to him, would distract his mind, and sink his spirits, he is kept serene and calm, by having the events of things hid from his eyes, and knowing nothing of the dangers which surround him.’

After these thoughts had for some time entertained me, I came to reflect seriously upon the real danger I had been in for so many years in this very island; and how I had walked about in the greatest security, and with all possible tranquillity, even when perhaps nothing but a brow of an hill, a great tree, or the casual approach of night, had been between me and the worst kind of destruction; viz. that of falling into the hands of canibals and savages, who would have seized on me with the same view as I did a goat or a turtle, and have thought it no more a crime to kill and devour me, than I did of a pigeon or a curlew; I should unjustly slander myself, if I should say I was not sincerely thankful to my Great Preserver, to whose singular protection I acknowledged, with great humility, that all these unknown deliverances were due, and without which I should inevitably have fallen into their merciless hands.

When these thoughts were over, my head was for some time taken up in considering the nature of these wretched creatures; I mean the savages; and how it came to pass in the world, that the Wise Governor of all things should give up any of his creatures to such inhumanity, nay, to something so much below even brutality itself, as to devour its own kind: but as this ended in some (at that time fruitless) speculations, it occurred

occurred to me to enquire what part of the world these wretches lived in; how far off the coast was from whence they came; what they ventured so far from home for; what kind of boats they had; and why I might not order myself, and my business so, that I might be as able to go over thither, as they were to come to me.

I never so much as troubled myself to consider, what I should do with myself when I came thither; what should become of me, if I fell into the hands of the savages; or how I should escape from them, if they attempted me; no, nor so much as how it was possible for me to reach the coast, and not be attempted by some or other of them, without any possibility of delivering myself; and if I should not fall into their hands, what I should do for provision, or whither I should bend my course; none of these thoughts, I say, so much as came in my way; but my mind was wholly bent upon the notion of my passing over in my boat to the main land: I looked back upon my present condition, as the most miserable that could possibly be; that I was not able to throw myself into any thing but death that could be called worse; that if I reached the shore of the main, I might, perhaps, meet with relief; or I might coast along, as I did on the shore of Africa, till I came to some inhabited country, and where I might find some relief, and after all, perhaps, I might fall in with some Christian ship that might take me in; and if the worst came to the worst, I could but die, which would put an end to all these miseries at once. Pray note, all this was the fruit of a disturbed mind, an impatient temper, made, as it were, desperate by the long continuance of my troubles, and the disappointments I had met in the wreck I had been on board of, and where I had been so near the obtaining what I so earnestly longed for, viz. somebody to speak to, and to learn some knowledge from, of the place where I was, and of the probable means of my deliverance: I say, I was agitated wholly by these thoughts. All my calm of mind in my resignation

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nation to Providence, and waiting the issue of the dispositions of Heaven, seemed to be suspended; and I had, as it were, no power to turn my thoughts to any thing, but the project of a voyage to the main, which came upon me with such force, and such an impetuosity of desire, that it was not to be resisted.

When this had agitated my thoughts for two hours or more, with such violence, that it set my very blood into a ferment, and my pulse beat as high as if I had been in a fever, merely with the extraordinary fervour of my mind about it; nature, as if I had been fatigued and exhausted with the very thought of it, threw me into a sound sleep: one would have thought I should have dreamed of it; but I did not, nor of any thing relating to it; but I dreamed, that as I was going out in the morning, as usual, from my castle, I saw upon the shore two canoes, and eleven savages coming to land, and that they brought with them another savage, whom they were going to kill, in order to eat him; when, on a sudden, the savage that they were going to kill jumped away, and ran for his life; then I thought in my sleep, that he came running into my little thick grove, before my fortification, to hide himself; and that I, seeing him alone, and not perceiving that the others sought him that way, shewed myself to him, and smiling upon him, encouraged him: that he kneeled down to me, seeming to pray me to assist him; upon which I shewed my ladder, made him go up it, and carried him into my cave, and he became my servant; and that as soon as I had gotten this man, I said to myself—  
 ‘ Now I may certainly venture to the main land; for  
 ‘ this fellow will serve me as a pilot, and will tell me  
 ‘ what to do, and whither to go for provisions, and  
 ‘ whither not to go for fear of being devoured; what  
 ‘ places to venture into, and what to escape.’ I waked with this thought, and was under such inexpressible impressions of joy at the prospect of my escape in my dream, that the disappointments which I felt upon coming to myself, and finding it was no more than a dream,



dream, were equally extravagant the other way, and threw me into a very great dejection of spirit.

Upon this, however, I made this conclusion; that my only way to go about an attempt for an escape, was, if possible, to get a savage in my possession; and, if possible, it should be one of their prisoners whom they had condemned to be eaten, and should bring hither to kill; but these thoughts still were attended with this difficulty, that it was impossible to effect this, without attacking a whole body of them, and killing them all; and this was not only a very desperate attempt, and might miscarry; but, on the other hand, I had greatly scrupled the lawfulness of it to me, and my heart trembled at the thoughts of shedding so much blood, though it was for my deliverance: I need not repeat the arguments which occurred to me against this, they being the same mentioned before; but though I had other reasons to offer now, viz. that those men were enemies to my life, and would devour me, if they could; that it was self-preservation, in the highest degree, to destroy them, and that I should be acting in my own defence, as much as if they were actually assaulting me, and the like; I say, though these things argued for it, yet the thoughts of shedding human blood for my deliverance were very terrible to me, and such as I could by no means reconcile myself to a great while.

However, at last, after many secret disputes with myself, and after great perplexities about it (for all these arguments, one way and another, struggled in my head a long time) the eager prevailing desire of deliverance at length mastered all the rest; I resolved, if possible, to get one of these savages into my hands, cost what it would: my next thing then was to contrive how to do it; and this, indeed, was very difficult to resolve on; but as I could pitch upon no probable means for it, so I resolved to put myself upon the watch, to see them when they came on shore, and leave the rest to the event, taking such measures as the opportunity should present, let them be what they might.



With these resolutions in my thoughts, I set myself upon the scout, as often as possible, and indeed so often till I was heartily tired of it; for it was above a year and a half that I waited, and for a great part of that time went out to the west end, and to the south-west corner of the island, almost every day, to look for canoes, but none appeared: this was very discouraging, and began to trouble me much; though I cannot say that it did in this case as it had done some time before that, viz. wear off the edge of my desire to execute my designs; but the longer it seemed to be delayed, the more eager I was for it: in a word, I was not at first more careful to avoid being seen by these savages, than I was now eager to attack them.

Besides, I fancied myself able to manage one, nay, two or three savages, if I had them, so as to make them entirely slaves to me, to do what ever I should direct them, and to prevent their being able, at any time, to do me any hurt. It was a great while that I pleased myself with this affair, but nothing still presented; all my fancies and schemes came to nothing, for no savages came near me for a great while.

About a year and a half after I had entertained these notions, and, by long musing, had, as it were, resolved them all into nothing, for want of an occasion to put them into execution, I was surprized one morning early, with seeing no less than five canoes all on shore together, on my side the island, and the people who belonged to them all landed, and out of my sight: the number of them broke all my measures; for seeing so many, and knowing that they always came four, or six, or sometimes more, in a boat, I could not tell what to think of it, or how to take my measures to attack twenty or thirty men single handed; so I lay still in my castle, perplexed, and discomfited; however, I put myself into all the same postures for an attack that I had formerly provided, and was just ready for action, if any thing had presented: having waited a good while, listening to hear if they made any noise, at length being very impatient,

patient, I set my guns at the foot of my ladder, and clambered up to the top of the hill by two stages, as usual; standing so, however, that my head did not appear above the hill; so that they could not perceive me by any means: here I observed, by the help of my perspective glass, that they were no less than thirty in number, that they had a fire kindled, and that they had had meat dressed; how they cooked it, that I know not, or what it was; but they were all dancing, in I know not how many barbarous gestures and figures, their own way, round the fire.

When I was thus looking on them, I perceived by my perspective two miserable wretches dragged from the boats, where it seems, they were laid by, and were now brought out for the slaughter. I perceived one of them immediately fall, being knocked down, I suppose, with a club or wooden sword, for that was their way; and two or three others were at work immediately, cutting him open for their cookery, while the other victim was left standing by himself, till they should be ready for him: in that very moment this poor wretch seeing himself a little at liberty, nature inspired him with hopes of life, and he started away from them, and ran with incredible swiftness along the sands, directly towards me; I mean towards that part of the coast where my habitation was.

I was dreadfully frightened (that I must acknowledge) when I perceived him run my way; and especially when, as I thought, I saw him pursued by the whole body; and now I expected that part of my dream was coming to pass, and that he would certainly take shelter in my grove; but I could not depend, by any means, upon my dream for the rest of it; viz. that the other savages would not pursue him thither, and find him there: however, I kept my station, and my spirits began to recover, when I found that there were not above three men that followed him; and still more was I encouraged, when I found that he outstript them exceedingly in running

ning, and gained ground of them, so that if he could but hold it for half an hour, I saw easily he would fairly get away from them all.

There was between them and my castle the creek, which I mentioned often at the first part of my story, when I landed my cargoes out of the ship; and this I knew he must necessarily swim over, or the poor wretch would be taken: but when the savage, escaping, came thither, he made nothing of it, though the tide was then up; but plunging in, swam through in about thirty strokes, or thereabouts, landed, and ran on with exceeding strength and swiftness; the three pursuers came to the creek, I found that two of them could swim but the third could not, and that he, standing on the other side, looked at the other, but went no farther, and soon after went softly back again; which, as it happened, was very well for him in the main.

I observed that the two who swam, were yet more than twice as long swimming over the creek than the fellow was that fled from them; it came now very warmly into my thoughts, and indeed irresistibly, that this was the time to get a servant, and perhaps a companion or assistant, and that I was called plainly by Providence to save this poor creature's life. I immediately got down the ladders with all possible expedition, fetched my two guns, for they were both at the foot of the ladder, as I observed before; and getting up again with the same haste to the top of the hill, I crossed towards the sea; and, having a very short cut, and all down hill, clapped myself in the way between the pursuers and the pursued, hallooing aloud to him that fled; who, looking back, was at first perhaps as much frightened at me as at them; but I beckoned with my hand to him to come back; and in the mean time I slowly advanced towards the two that followed; then rushing at once upon the foremost, I knocked him down with the stock of my piece; I was loth to fire, because I would not have the rest hear; though at that distance

distance it would not have been easily heard; and being out of sight of the smoke too, they would not have easily known what to make of it.

Having knocked this fellow down, the other who pursued him stopped, as if he had been frightened, and I advanced apace towards him; but as I came nearer, I perceived presently he had a bow and arrow, and was fitting it to shoot at me; so I was then necessitated to shoot at him first; which I did, and killed him at the first shot. The poor savage who fled, but had stopped, though he saw both his enemies fallen, and killed, (as he thought) yet was so frighted with the fire and noise of my piece, that he stood stock still, and neither came forward nor went backward, though he seemed rather inclined to fly still than to come on. I hallooed again to him, and made him signs to come forward, which he easily understood, and came a little way, then stopped again, and then a little farther, and stopped again; and I could then perceive that he stood trembling, as if he had been taken prisoner, and had just been to be killed, as his two enemies were. I beckoned him again to come to me, and gave him all the encouragement I could think of; and he came nearer and nearer, kneeling down every ten or twelve steps, in token of acknowledgement for saving his life. I smiled at him, looked pleasantly, and beckoned him to come still nearer. At length he came close to me, and then kneeled down again, and kissed the ground, and laid his head upon it, and taking me by the foot, set my foot upon his head: this, it seems, was in token of swearing to be my slave for ever. I took him up, made much of him, and encouraged him all I could. But there was more work to do yet; for I perceived the savage, whom I knocked down, was not killed, but stunned with the blow, and began to come to himself: so I pointed to him, and shewed him the savage, that he was not dead; upon this he spoke some words to me, and though I could not understand them, yet I thought they were pleasant to hear, for they were the first sound of a man's voice

voice that I had heard (my own excepted) for above five-and-twenty years: but there was no time for such reflections now: the savage, who was knocked down, recovered himself so far, as to sit up upon the ground; and I perceived that my savage began to be afraid; but when I saw that, I presented my other piece at the man, as if I would shoot him: upon this my savage, for so I called him now, made a motion to me to lend him my sword, which hung naked in a belt by my side; so I did: he no sooner had it, but he ran to his enemy, and at one blow cut off his head so cleverly, no executioner in Germany could have done it sooner or better; which I thought very strange for one, who I had reason to believe, never saw a sword in his life before, except their own wooden swords; however, it seems, as I learned afterwards, they made their wooden swords so sharp, so heavy, and the wood so hard, that they will cut off heads even with them, aye, and arms, and that at one blow. When he had done this, he came laughing to me in sign of triumph, and brought me the sword again; and with abundance of gestures, which I did not understand, laid it down, with the head of the savage that he had killed, just before me.

But that which astonished him most was, to know how I had killed the other Indian so far off; so pointing to him, he made signs to me to let him go to him: so I bade him go as well as I could. When he came to him, he stood like one amazed, looking at him; turned him first on one side, then on the other; looked at the wound the bullet had made, which, it seems, was just in his breast, where it had made an hole, and no great quantity of blood had followed, but he had bled inwardly, for he was quite dead. He then took up his bow and arrows, and came back; so I turned to go away, and beckoned him to follow, making signs to him, that more might come after them.

Upon this he signified to me, that he should bury them with sand, that they might not be seen by the rest, if they followed; and so I made signs against him to do





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so. He fell to work, and in an instant had scraped an hole in the sand with his hands, large enough to bury the first in, and then dragged him into it, and covered him; and did so also by the other. I believe he had buried them both in a quarter of an hour. Then calling him away, I took him not to my castle, but quite away to my cave, on the farther part of the island; so I did not let my dream come to pass in that part, viz. that he came into my grove for shelter.

Here I gave him bread, and a bunch of raisins to eat, and a draught of water, which I found he was indeed in great distress for by his running; and having refreshed him, I made signs for him to go lie down and sleep, pointing to a place where I had laid a great parcel of rice-straw, and a blanket upon it, which I used to sleep upon myself sometimes; so the poor creature lay down, and went to sleep.

He was a comely, handsome fellow, perfectly well made, with straight long limbs, not too large; tall, and well-shaped; and, as I reckon, about twenty-six years of age. He had a very good countenance, not a fierce and surly aspect, but seemed to have something very manly in his face, and yet he had all the sweetness and softness of an European in his countenance too, especially when he smiled: his hair was long and black, not curled like wool; his forehead very high and large, and a great vivacity and sparkling sharpness in his eyes. The colour of his skin was not quite black, but very tawny, and yet not of an ugly yellow, nauseous tawny, as the Brazilians and Virginians, and other natives of America are, but of a bright kind, of a dun olive colour, that had in it something very agreeable, though not very easy to describe. His face was round and plump, his nose small, not flat like the Negroes; a very good mouth, thin lips, and his teeth fine, well set, and white as ivory. After he had slumbered, rather than slept, about half an hour, he waked again, and came out of the cave to me, for I had been milking my goats, which I had in the inclosure just by. When

he

he espied me, he came running to me, laying himself down again upon the ground, with all the possible signs of an humble, thankful disposition, making many antic gestures to shew it. At last he laid his head flat upon the ground close to my foot, and set my foot upon his head, as he had done before; and after this made all the signs to me of subjection, servitude, and submission imaginable, to let me know how much he would serve me as long as he lived. I understood him in many things, and let him know I was very well pleased with him. In a little time I began to speak to him, and teach him to speak to me; and first, I made him know his name should be Friday, which was the day I saved his life, and called him so for the memory of the time; I likewise taught him to say 'Master,' and then let him know that was to be my name; I likewise taught him to say *Yes* and *No*, and to know the meaning of them; I gave him some milk in an earthen pot, and let him see me drink it before him, and sop my bread in it; and I gave him a cake of bread to do the like, which he quickly complied with, and made signs that it was very good for him.

I kept there with him all that night, but as soon as it was day, I beckoned to him to come with me, and let him know I would give him some cloaths, at which he seemed very glad, for he was stark-naked. As we went by the place where he had buried the two men, he pointed exactly to the spot, and shewed me the marks that he had made to find them again, making signs to me that we should dig them up again, and eat them; at this I appeared very angry, expressed my abhorrence of it, made as if I would vomit at the thoughts of it, and beckoned with my hand to him to come away, which he did immediately with great submission. I then led him up to the top of the hill, to see if his enemies were gone, and pulling out my glass, I looked and saw plainly the place where they had been, but no appearance of them, or of their canoes; so that it was plain they were gone, and had left their two comrades behind

behind them, without any search after them. However, I was not content with this discovery: but having now more courage, and consequently more curiosity, I took my man Friday with me, giving him the sword in his hand, with the bow and arrows at his back, which I found he could use very dexterously, making him carry one gun for me, and I two for myself, and away we marched to the place where those creatures had been; for I had a mind now to get some fuller intelligence of them. When I came to the place, my very blood ran cold in my veins, and my heart sunk within me at the horror of the spectacle. Indeed it was a dreadful sight, at least it was so to me, though Friday made nothing of it. The place was covered with human bones, the ground dyed with the blood, great pieces of flesh left here and there half eaten, mangled, and scorched; and, in short, all the tokens of the triumphant feast they had been making there, after a victory over their enemies. I saw three skulls, five hands, and the bones of three or four legs and feet, and abundance of other parts of the bodies; and Friday, by his signs, made me understand, that they brought over four prisoners to feast upon; that three of them were eaten up, and that he, pointing to himself, was the fourth; that there had been a great battle between them and their next king, whose subjects, it seems, he had been one of; and that they had taken a great number of prisoners, all of whom were carried to several places by those that had taken them in the fight, in order to feast upon them, as was done here by these wretches upon those they brought hither.

I caused Friday to gather all the skulls, bones, flesh, and whatever remained, and lay them together on an heap, and make a great fire upon it, and burn them all to ashes. I found Friday had still a hankering stomach after some of the flesh, and was still a cannibal in his nature; but I discovered so much abhorrence at the very thoughts of it, and at the least appearance of it,  
that



that he durst not discover it; for I had, by some means, let him know, that I would kill him if he offered it.

When we had done this, we came back to our castle, and there I set to work for my man Friday; and first of all, I gave him a pair of linen drawers, which I had out of the poor gunner's chest I mentioned, and which I found in the wreck; and which, with a little alteration, fitted him very well; then I made him a jerkin of goat's skin, as well as my skill would allow, for I was now grown a tolerable good taylor; and I gave him a cap, which I had made of an hare-skin, very convenient, and fashionable enough: and thus he was dressed, for the present, tolerably well, and highly was he pleased to see himself almost as well clothed as his master. It is true, he went awkwardly in these things at first: wearing the drawers was very awkward to him, and the sleeves of the waistcoat galled his shoulders and the inside of his arms; but by letting them out a little, and a farther practising their use, they became easy and familiar to him.

The next day after I came home to my hutch with him, I began to consider where I should lodge him; and that I might do well for him, and yet be perfectly easy myself, I made a little tent for him in the vacant place between my two fortifications, in the inside of the last, and in the outside of the first: and as there was a door or entrance there into my cave, I made a formal framed door-case, and a door to it of boards, and set it up in the passage, a little within the entrance; and causing the door to open on the inside, I barred it up in the night, taking in my ladders too; so that Friday could no way come at me in the inside of my innermost wall, without making so much noise in getting over, that it must needs awaken me; for my first wall had now a compleat roof over it of long poles, covering all my tent, and leaning up to the side of the hill, which was again laid across with small sticks instead of laths, and then thatched over a great thickness with the rice straw, which was

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strong

strong like reeds; and at the hole or place which was left to go in or out by the ladder, I had placed a kind of trap-door, which, if it had been attempted on the out-side, would not have opened at all, but would have fallen down, and made a great noise; and as to weapons, I took them all in to my side every night.

But I needed none of all this precaution; for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant, than Friday was to me; without passions, fullness, or designs; perfectly obliging and engaging; his very affections were tied to me, like those of a child to a father, and I dare say, he would have sacrificed his life for the saving mine, upon any occasion whatsoever. The many testimonies he gave me of this put it out of doubt; and soon convinced me, I needed not to use any precautions as to my safety on his account.

This frequently gave me occasion to observe, and that with wonder, that however it had pleased God in his providence, and in the government of the works of his hands, to take from so great a part of the world of his creatures, the best uses to which their faculties and the powers of their souls are adapted; yet that he has bestowed upon them the same powers, the same reason, the same affections, the same sentiments of kindness and obligation, the same passions and resentments of wrongs, the same sense of gratitude, sincerity, fidelity, and all the capacities of doing good, and receiving good, that he has given to us; and that when he pleases to offer them occasions of exerting these, they are as ready, nay, more ready, to apply them to the right uses for which they are bestowed, than we are. And this made me very melancholy sometimes, in reflecting, as the several occasions presented, how mean an use we make of all these powers enlightened by the great lamp of instruction, the Spirit of God, and by the knowledge of his Word, added to our understanding; and why it has pleased God to hide the like saving knowledge from so many souls, who, if I might judge by this poor savage, would make a much better use of it than we did?

From hence I sometimes was led too far to invade the sovereignty of Providence, and, as it were, arraign the justice of so arbitrary a disposition of things, that should hide that light from some, and reveal it to others, and yet expect a like duty from both. But I checked my thoughts with this conclusion: First, That we do not know by what light and law these should be condemned; but that, as God was necessarily, and by the nature of his being, infinitely holy and just, so it could be, but that if these creatures were all sentenced to absence from himself, it was on account of sinning against that light, which, as the Scripture says, 'was a law to themselves,' and by such rules as their consciences would acknowledge to be just, though the foundation was not discovered to us. And, secondly, That still, as we are all clay in the hand of the potter, no vessel could say to him—'Why hast thou formed me thus?'

But to return to my new companion. I was greatly delighted to teach him every thing that was proper to make him useful, handy, and helpful: but especially to make him speak, and understand me when I spoke; and he was the aptest scholar that ever was; and particularly was so merry, so constantly diligent, and so pleased when he could but understand me or make me understand him, that it was very pleasant to me to talk to him; and now my life became so easy, that I began to say to myself, that could I but have been safe from more savages, I cared not if I was never to remove from the place while I lived.

After I had been two or three days returned to my castle, I thought, that, 'in order to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, and from the relish of a canibal's stomach, I ought to let him taste other flesh; so I took him out with me one morning to the woods; I went, indeed, intending to kill a kid out of my own flock, and bring it home and dress it: but, as I was going, I saw a she-goat lying down in the shade, and two young kids sitting by her. I caught hold of Friday—'Hold, (said I) stand still,' and made signs to him  
not

not to stir. Immediately I presented my piece, shot, and killed one of the kids. The poor creature, who had at a distance, indeed, seen me kill the savage, his enemy, but did not know, or could imagine, how it was done, was sensibly surprized, trembled, and shook and looked so amazed, that I thought he would have sunk down. He did not see the kid I had shot at, or perceive I had killed it, but ripped up his waistcoat to feel if he was not wounded; and, as I found, presently, thought I was resolved to kill him; for he came and kneeled down to me, and embracing my knees, said a great many things I did not understand, but I could easily see that his meaning was to pray me not to kill him.

I soon found a way to convince him that I would do him no harm; and taking him up by the hand, laughed, at and pointing to the kid which I had killed, beckoned to him to run and fetch it, which he did: and while he was wondering and looking to see how the creature was killed, I loaded my gun again, and by-and-by I saw a great fowl, like a hawk, sit upon a tree within shot; so, to let Friday understand a little what I would do, I called him to me again, pointing at the fowl, which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk; I say, pointing to the parrot, and to my gun, and to the ground under the parrot; to let him see I would make him fall, I made him understand that I would shoot and kill that bird; accordingly I fired, and bid him look, and immediately he saw the parrot fall. He stood like one frightened again, notwithstanding all I had said to him; and I found he was the more amazed, because he did not see me put any thing into the gun; but thought there must be some wonderful fund of death and destruction in that thing, able to kill man, beast, bird, or any thing near or far off; the astonishment this created in him was such, as he could not wear off for a long time; and I believe, if I would have let him, he would have worshipped me and my gun: as for my gun itself, he would not so



much as touch it for several days after; but would speak to it, and talk to it, as if it had answered him, when he was by himself; which, as I afterwards learned of him, was to desire it not to kill him.

Well, after his astonishment was a little over at this, I pointed to him to run and fetch the bird I had shot, which he did, but staid some time; for the parrot not being quite dead, was fluttered a good way off from the place where she fell; however, he found her, took her up and brought her to me; and, as I had perceived his ignorance about the gun before, I took this advantage to charge the gun again, and not let him see me do it, that I might be ready for any other mark that might present; but nothing more offered at that time: so I brought home my kid, and the same evening I took the skin off, and cut it out as well as I could, and having a pot for that purpose, I boiled or stewed some of the flesh, and made some very good broth; after I had begun to eat some, I gave some to my man, who seemed very glad of it, and liked it very well; but that which was strangest to him was, to see me eat salt with it. He made a sign to me, that the salt was not good to eat, and putting a little into his own mouth, he seemed to nauseate it, and would spit and sputter at it, washing his mouth with fresh water after it; on the other hand, I took some meat in my mouth without salt, and I pretended to spit and sputter for want of salt, as fast as he had done at the salt; but it would not do, he would never care for salt with meat, or in his broth; at least, not for a great while, and then but a very little.

Having thus fed him with boiled meat and broth, I was resolved to feast him the next day with roasting a piece of the kid; this I did by hanging it before the fire in a string, as I had seen many people do in England, setting two poles up, one on each side the fire, and one across on the top, and tying the string to the cross stick, letting the meat turn continually. This Friday admired very much; but when he came to taste the flesh, he took so many ways to tell me how well he liked



liked it, that I could not but understand him: and at last he told me he would never eat man's flesh any more, which I was very glad to hear.

The next day I set him to work to beating some corn out, and sifting it in the manner I used to do, as I observed before; and he soon understood how to do it as well as I, especially after he had seen what the meaning of it was, and that it was to make bread of: for after that I let him see me make my bread, and bake it too; and in a little time Friday was able to do all the work for me, as well as I could do it myself.

I began now to consider, that having two mouths to feed instead of one, I must provide more ground for my harvest, and plant a larger quantity of corn than I used to do; so I marked out a larger piece of land, and began the fence in the same manner as before, in which Friday not only worked very willingly, and very hard, but did it very chearfully; and I told him what it was for, that it was for corn to make more bread, because he was now with me, and that I might have enough for him and myself too. He appeared very sensible of that part, and let me know, that he thought I had much more labour upon me on his account, than I had for myself, and that he would work the harder for me, if I would tell him what to do.

This was the pleasanter year of all I had spent in this place: Friday began to talk pretty well, and understand the names of almost every thing I had occasion to call for, and of every place I had to send him to, and talk a great deal to me; so that, in short, I began now to have some use for my tongue again, which, indeed, I had very little occasion for before; that is to say, about speech. Besides the pleasure of talking to him, I had a singular satisfaction in the fellow himself; his simple unfeigned honesty appeared to me more and more every day, and I began really to love the creature; and on his side, I believe, he loved me more than it was possible for him ever to love any thing before.

I had a mind once to try if he had any hankering in-

clination to his own country again; and having learned him English so well, that he could answer me almost any questions; I asked him, whether the nation that he belonged to never conquered in battle. At which he smiled, and said 'Yes, yes, we always fight the better!' that is, he meant, always get the better in fight; and so we began the following discourse. 'You always fight the better! (said I) how came you to be taken prisoner then, Friday?'

FRIDAY. My nation beat much for all that.

MASTER. How beat! if your nation beat them, how came you to be taken?

FRIDAY. They more than my nation in the place where me was; they take one, two, three, and me. My nation over-beat them in the yonder place, where me no was; there my nation take one, two, great thousand.

MASTER. But why did not your side recover you from the hands of your enemies then?

FRIDAY. They run one, two, three, and me, and make go in the canoe; my nation have no canoe that time.

MASTER. Well, Friday, and what does your nation do with the men they take? Do they carry them away, and eat them, as these did?

FRIDAY. Yes, my nation eat mans too; eat all up.

MASTER. Where do they carry them?

FRIDAY. Go to other place where they think.

MASTER. Do they come hither?

FRIDAY. Yes, yes, they come hither; come other else place.

MASTER. Have you been here with them?

FRIDAY. Yes, I been here. (Points to the N.W. side of the island, which, it seems, was their side.)

By this I understood, that my man Friday had formerly been among the savages, who used to come on shore on the farther part of the island, on the same man-eating occasions that he was now brought for; and

some

some time after, when I took the courage to carry him to that side, being the same I formerly mentioned, he presently knew the place, and told me, he was there once when they eat up twenty men, two women, and one child. He could not tell twenty in English, but he numbered them by laying so many stones in a row, and pointing to me to tell them over.

I have told this passage, because it introduces what follows; that after I had had this discourse with him, I asked him, how far it was from our island to the shore, and whether the canoes were not often lost: he told me there was no danger, no canoes ever lost; but that after a little way out to sea, there was a current, and a wind always one way in the morning, the other in the afternoon.

This I understood to be no more than the sets of the tide, as going out or coming in; but I afterwards understood it was occasioned by the great draught and reflux of the mighty River Oroonoke; in the mouth of which river, as I thought afterwards, our island lay; and that this land, which I perceived to the W. and N. W. was the great island Trinidad, on the north point of the mouth of the river: I asked Friday a thousand questions about the country, the inhabitants, the sea, the coast, and what nations were near; he told me all he knew, with the greatest openness imaginable: I asked him the names of the several nations of his sort of people, but could get no other name than the Caribs, from whence I easily understood, that these were the Caribees, which our maps place on that part of America that reaches from the mouth of the River Oroonoke to Guiana, and onwards to St. Martha: he told me, that up a great way beyond the moon, that was, beyond the setting of the moon, which must be west from their country, there dwelt white-bearded men, like me, and pointed to my great whiskers, which I mentioned before; and that they had killed much mans (that was his word :) by which I understood he meant the Spaniards, whose cruelties in America had been

been spread over the whole countries, and were remembered by all the nations from father to son.

I enquired if he could tell me how I might come from this island, and get among those white men; he told me, yes, yes, I might go in two canoe; I could not understand what he meant by two canoe; till at last, with great difficulty, I found he meant, that it must be in a large great boat as big as two canoes.

This part of Friday's discourse began to relish with me very well; and from this time I entertained some hopes, that one time or other I might find an opportunity to make my escape from this place, and that this poor savage might be a means to help me to do it.

During the long time that Friday had now been with me, and that he began to speak to me, and understand me, I was not wanting to lay a foundation of religious knowledge in his mind; particularly, I asked him one time, who made him? The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had asked who was his father; but I took it by another handle, and asked him, who made the sea, the ground he walked on, and the hills and wood? He told me, it was one old Benamuckee that lived beyond all. He could describe nothing of this great person, but that he was very old; much older he said, than the sea or the land, than the moon or the stars. I asked him then, if this old person had made all things, why did not all things worship him? He looked very grave, and with a perfect look of innocence said—'All things say O to him.' I asked him, if the people who died in his country went away any where. He said, yes, they all went to Benamuckee. Then I asked him, whether those they eat up went thither too. He said, yes.

From these things I began to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God. I told him, that the Great Maker of all things lived there, pointing up towards Heaven: that he governs the world by the same power and providence by which he made it; that he was omnipotent; could do every thing for us; give every thing to us, take every thing from us; and thus, by degrees,



I opened his eyes: he listened with great attention, and received with pleasure the notion of Jesus Christ being sent to redeem us, and of the manner of making our prayers to God, and his being able to hear us, even into Heaven. He told me, one day, that if our God could hear us up beyond the sun, he must needs be a greater God than their Benamuckee, who lived but a little way off, and yet could not hear, till they went up to the great mountains where he dwelt, to speak to him. I asked if ever he went thither to speak to him. He said, no, they never went that were young men; none went thither but the old men, whom he called their Oowooka-kee, that is, as I made him explain it to me, their religious or clergy: and that they went to say O, (so he called saying prayers) and then came back, and told them what Benamuckee said. By this I observed, that there is priestcraft even among the most blinded ignorant pagans in the world, and the policy of making a secret religion, in order to preserve the veneration of the people to the clergy, is not only to be found in the Roman, but perhaps among all religions in the world, even among the most brutish and barbarous savages.

I endeavoured to clear up this fraud to my man Friday, and told him, that the pretence of their old men going up to the mountains to say O to their god Benamuckee, was a cheat, and their bringing word from thence what he said, was much more so; that if they met with any answer, or spoke with any one there, it must be with an evil spirit: and then I entered into a long discourse with him about the devil, the original of him, his rebellion against God, his enmity to man, the reason of it, his setting himself up in the dark parts of the world to be worshipped instead of God, and as God; and the many stratagems he made use of to delude mankind to their ruin; how he had a secret access to our passions, and to our affections, to adapt his snares so to our inclinations, as to cause us even to be our own tempters, and to run upon our own destruction by our own choice.



I found it was not so easy to imprint right notions in his mind about the devil, as it was about the being of a God: nature assisted all my arguments to evince to him even the necessity of a great First Cause, and overruling governing Power, a secret directing Providence, and of the equity and justice of paying homage to him that made us, and the like: but there appeared nothing of all this in the notion of an evil spirit, of his original, his being, his nature, and above all, of his inclination to do evil, and to draw us in to do so too; and the poor creature puzzled me once in such a manner, by a question merely natural and innocent, that I scarce knew what to say to him. I had been talking a great deal to him of the power of God, his omnipotence, his dreadful aversion to sin, his being a consuming fire to the workers of iniquity; that as he had made us all, he could destroy us, and all the world, in a moment; and he listened with great seriousness to me all the while.

After this, I had been telling him how the devil was God's enemy in the hearts of men, and used all his malice and skill to defeat the good designs of Providence, and to ruin the kingdom of Christ in the world, and the like. 'Well (says Friday) but you say, God is so strong, so great, is he not much strong, much might, as the devil?'—'Yes, yes, (said I) Friday, God is stronger than the devil; God is above the devil; and therefore we pray to God to tread him under our feet, and enable us to resist his temptations, and quench his fiery darts.' 'But (says he again) if God much strong, much might as the devil, why God not kill the devil, so make him no more wicked?'

I was strangely surprized at his question; and, after all, though I was now an old man, yet I was but a young doctor, and ill enough qualified for a casuist, or a solver of difficulties: and, at first I could not tell what to say; so I pretended not to hear him, and asked him what he said: but he was too earnest for an answer to forget his question; so that he repeated it in the very same

same broken words as above. By this time I had recovered myself a little, and I said—‘God will at last punish him severely, he is reserved for the judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit, to dwell with everlasting fire.’ This did not satisfy Friday, but he returned upon me, repeating my words—‘Reserve at last, me no understand: but why not kill the devil now, not kill great ago?’—‘You may as well ask me, (said I) why God does not kill you and me, when we do wicked things here that offend him: we are preserved to repent and be pardoned.’ He mused awhile at this; ‘Well, well! (says he) very affectionately;’ ‘that well! so you, I, devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all!’ Here I was run down again by him to the last degree, and it was a testimony to me, how the mere notions of nature, though they will guide reasonable creatures to the knowledge of a God, and of a worship or homage due to the supreme being of God, as the consequence of our nature; yet nothing but Divine Revelation can form the knowledge of Jesus Christ, and of a redemption purchased for us; of a mediator, of a new covenant, and of an intercessor at the footstool of God’s throne; I say, nothing but a revelation from Heaven can form these in the soul; and that therefore the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I mean, the word of God, and the Spirit of God, promised for the guide and sanctifier of his people, are the absolutely necessary instructors of the souls of men in the saving knowledge of God and the means of salvation.

I therefore diverted the present discourse between me and my man, rising up hastily, as upon some sudden occasion of going out; then sending him for something a great way off, I seriously prayed to God, that he would enable me to instruct savingly this poor savage, assisting by his Spirit the heart of the poor ignorant creature to receive the light of the knowledge of God in Christ, reconciling him to himself, and would guide  
me

me to speak so to him from the Word of God, as his conscience might be convinced, his eyes opened, and his soul saved: when he came again to me, I entered into a long discourse with him upon the subject of the redemption of man by the Saviour of the world, and of the doctrine of the Gospel preached from Heaven; viz. of repentance towards God, and faith in our blessed Lord Jesus. I then explained to him, as well as I could, why our blessed Redeemer took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham, and how for that reason the fallen angels had no share in the redemption; that he came only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and the like.

I had, God knows, more sincerity than knowledge, in all the methods I took for this poor creature's instruction; and must acknowledge, what I believe all that act upon the same principle will find, that in laying things open to him, I really informed and instructed myself, in many things that either I did not know, or had not fully considered before; but which occurred naturally to my mind, upon my searching into them for the information of this poor savage; and I had more affection in my enquiry after things upon this occasion, than ever I felt before; so that whether this poor wild wretch was the better for me or no, I had great reason to be thankful that ever he came to me; my grief sat lighter upon me, my habitation grew comfortable to me beyond measure; and when I reflected, that in this solitary life which I had been confined to, I had not only been moved myself to look up to Heaven, and to seek to the hand that brought me thither, but was now to be made an instrument, under Providence to save the life, and for aught I know, the soul of a poor savage, and bring him to the true knowledge of religion, and of the Christian doctrine, that he might know Christ Jesus, to know whom is life eternal; I say, when I reflected upon all things, a secret joy ran through every part of my soul, and I frequently rejoiced that ever I

was

was brought to this place, which I had often thought the most dreadful of all afflictions that could possibly have befallen me.

In this thankful frame I continued all the remainder of my time, and the conversation which employed the hours between Friday and me was such, as made the three years which we lived there together, perfectly and compleatly happy, if any such thing as compleat happiness can be found in a sublunary state. The savage was now a good Christian, a much better than I; though I have reason to hope, and bless God for it, that we were equally penitent, and comforted, restored penitents: we had here the Word of God to read, and were no farther off from his Spirit to instruct, than if we had been in England.

I always applied myself to reading the Scripture, and to let him know, as well as I could, the meaning of what I read; and he again, by his serious enquiries and questions, made me, as I said before, a much better scholar in the Scripture-knowledge, than I should ever have been by my own mere private reading: another thing I cannot refrain from observing here also from experience in this retired part of my life, viz. how infinite and inexpressible a blessing it is, that the knowledge of God, and of the doctrine of salvation by Christ Jesus, is so plainly laid down in the Word of God, so easy to be received and understood that as the bare reading the Scripture made me capable of understanding enough of my duty to carry me directly on to the great work of sincere repentance for my sins, and laying hold of a Saviour for life and salvation, to a stated reformation in practice, and obedience to all God's commands, and this without any teacher or instructor, (I mean human,) so the plain instruction sufficiently served to the enlightening this savage creature, and bring him to be such a Christian, as I have known few equal to him in my life.

As to the disputes, wranglings, strife, and contention, which have happened in the world about religion,



whether niceties in doctrines, or schemes of church-government, they were all perfectly useless to us; as for aught I can yet see, they have been to all the rest in the world: we had the sure guide to Heaven, viz. the Word of God; and we had, blessed be God, comfortable views of the Spirit of God, teaching and instructing us by his word, 'leading us into all truth,' and making us both willing and obedient to the instruction of his word; and I cannot see the least use that the greatest knowledge of the disputed points in religion, which have made such confusions in the world, would have been to us, if we could have obtained it. But I must go on with the historical part of things, and take every part in its order.

After Friday and I became more intimately acquainted, and that he could understand almost all I said to him, and speak fluently, though in broken English, to me; I acquainted him with my own story, or at least so much of it as related to my coming into the place, how I had lived there, and how long. I let him into the mystery (for such it was to him) of gunpowder and bullets, and taught him how to shoot; I gave him a knife, which he was wonderfully delighted with; and I made him a belt with a frog hanging to it, such as in England we wear hangers in; and in the frog, instead of a hanger, I gave him a hatchet, which was not only as good a weapon in some cases, but much more useful upon many occasions.

I described to him the countries of Europe, and particularly England, which I came from; how we lived, how we worshipped God, how we behaved to one another, and how we traded in ships to all the parts of the world. I gave him an account of the wreck which I had been on board of, and shewed him, as near as I could, the place where she lay; but she was all beaten in pieces long before, and quite gone.

I shewed him the ruins of our boat, which we lost when we escaped, and which I could not stir with my whole strength then, but was now fallen almost all to pieces. Upon seeing this boat, Friday stood musing a great



great while, and said nothing; I asked him what it was he studied upon. At last, says he—"Me see such boat like come to place at my Nation."

I did not understand him for some time; but at last when I had examined farther into it, I understood by him, that a boat such as that had been come on shore upon the country where he lived; that is, as he explained it, was driven thither by stress of weather. I presently imagined, that some European ship must have been cast away upon their coast, and the boat might get loose, and drive ashore; but was so dull, that I never once thought of men making escape from a wreck thither, much less whence they might come; so I only enquired after a description of the boat.

Friday described the boat to me well enough; but brought me better to understand him, when he added, with some warmth—"We save the white mans from drown." I then asked him, if there were any white mans, as he called them, in the boat? "Yes," he said, "the boat full of white mans." I asked him, how many: he told me upon his fingers seventeen. I asked him then what became of them. He told me—"They live, they dwell at my nation."

This put new thoughts into my head again; for I presently imagined that these might be the men belonging to the ship that was cast away in sight of my island, as I now call it; and who, after the ship was struck on the rock, and they saw her inevitably lost, had saved themselves in their boat, and were landed upon that wild shore among the savages.

Upon this, I enquired of him more critically, what was become of them: he assured me they lived still there, that they had been there about four years, and that the savages let them alone, and gave them victuals to live. I asked him, how it came to pass they did not kill them, and eat them. He said—"No, they make brother with them;" that is, as I understood him, a truce; and then he added, "They eat no mans but when make the war fight:" that is to say, they never eat any

men, but such as come to fight with them, and are taken in battle.

It was after this, some considerable time, that being on the top of the hill, at the east-side of the island, from whence, as I have said, I had, in a clear day, discovered the main or continent in America; Friday, the weather being serene, looked very earnestly towards the main land, and, in a kind of surprize, fell to jumping and dancing, and calling out to me, for I was at some distance from him: I asked him what was the matter. "O joy!" says he; "O glad! There, see my country, "there my nation!"

I observed an extraordinary sense of pleasure appeared in his face, his eyes sparkled, and his countenance discovered a strange eagerness, as if he had a mind to be in his own country again: and this observation brought many thoughts into my mind which made me at first not so easy about my new man Friday as I was before; and I made no doubt, but that if Friday could get back to his own nation again, he would not only forget all his religion, but all his obligations to me; and would be forward enough to give his countrymen an account of me, and come back, perhaps, with an hundred or two of them, and make a feast upon me, at which he might be as merry as he used to be with those of his enemies, when they were taken in war.

But I wronged the poor honest creature very much, for which I was very sorry afterwards; however, as my jealousy increased, and held me some weeks, I was a little more circumspect, and not so familiar and kind to him as before; in which I was certainly in the wrong too, the honest grateful creature having no thoughts about him, but what consisted of the best principles, both as a religious Christian, and as a grateful friend; as appeared afterwards to my full satisfaction.

Whilst my jealousy of him lasted, you may be sure I was every day pumping him, to try if he would discover any of the new thoughts which I suspected were in him; but I found every thing he said was so honest, and

and so innocent, that I could not discover any thing to nourish my suspicion; and, in spite of all my uneasiness, he made me at last entirely his own again; nor did he in the least perceive that I was uneasy, and therefore I could not suspect him of deceit.

One day, walking up the same hill, but the weather being hazy at sea, so that we could not see the Continent, I called to him, and said, "Friday, do not you wish yourself in your own country, your own nation?"—"Yes," he said, "I be much O glad to be at my own nation"—"What would you do there?" said I, "would you turn wild again, eat man's flesh again, and be a savage as you were before?" He looked full of concern, and shaking his head, said, "No, no, Friday tell them to live good, tell them to pray God, tell them to eat corn-bread, cattle-flesh, milk; no eat man again."—"Why then," said I to him, "they will kill you." He looked grave at that, and then said, "No, they no kill me, they willing love learn." He meant by this, they would be willing to learn. He added, they learned much of the bearded mans that came in the boat. Then I asked him, if he would go back to them. He smiled at that, and told me he could not swim so far. I told him I would make a canoe for him. He told me he would go, if I would go with him. "I go!" said I; "why they will eat me if I come there."—"No, no," says he, "me make them no eat you, me make they much love you." He meant, he would tell them how I had killed his enemies, and saved his life, and so he would make them love me. Then he told me, as well as he could, how kind they were to the seventeen white men, or bearded men, as he called them, who came on shore in distress.

From this time, I confess, I had a mind to venture over, and see if I could possibly join with these bearded men, who, I made no doubt, were Spaniards or Portuguese; not doubting but, if I could, we might find some method to escape from thence, being upon the continent,

and a good company together, better than I could from an island forty miles off the shore, and alone, without help; so, after some days, I took Friday to work again, by way of discourse; and told him, I would give him a boat to go back to his own nation; and accordingly I carried him to my frigate, which lay on the other side of the island; and having cleared it of water, (for I always kept it sunk in the water) I brought it out, shewed it him, and we both went into it.

I found he was a most dexterous fellow at managing it, would make it go almost as swift and fast again as I could: so when he was in, I said to him, "Well, now, Friday, shall we go to your nation?" He looked very dull at my saying so; which, it seems, was because he thought the boat too small to go so far. I told him then I had a bigger; so the next day, I went to the place where the first boat lay which I had made, but which I could not get into the water; he said that was big enough; but then, as I had taken no care of it, and it had lain two or three and twenty years there, the sun had split and dried it, that it was in a manner rotten. Friday told me, such a boat would do very well, and would carry much enough vittle, drink, bread; that was his way of talking.

Upon the whole, I was by this time so fixed upon my design of going over with him to the continent, that I told him we should go and make one as big as that, and he should go home in it. He answered not one word, but looked very grave and sad. I asked him what was the matter with him? He asked me again thus: "Why you angry mad with Friday? what me done?" I asked him what he meant: I told him I was not angry with him at all. "No angry! no angry!" says he, repeating the words several times; "why send Friday home away to my nation?"—"Why," said I, "Friday, did you not say you wished you were there?"—"Yes, yes," says he, "wish be both there; no wish Friday there, no master there." In a word, he would not think of going there without me. "I go there,



"there, Friday?" said I: "what should I do there?" He turned very quick upon me at this; "You do great deal much good," says he: "you teach wild mans be good, sober, tame mans: you tell them know God, pray God, and live new life."—"Alas! Friday," said I, "thou knowest not what thou sayest: I am but an ignorant man myself."—"Yes, yes," says he, "you teachee me good, you teechee them good."—"No, no, Friday," said I, "you shall go without me: leave me here to live by myself, as I did before." He looked confused again at that word; and running to one of the hatchets which he used to wear, he took it up hastily and gave it me. "What must I do with this?" said I to him. "You take kill Friday," says he, "What must I kill you for?" said I again. He returns very quick, "What you send Friday away for? Take kill Friday, no send Friday away." This he spoke so earnestly, that I saw tears stand in his eyes. In a word, I so plainly discovered the utmost affection in him to me, and a firm resolution in him, that I told him then, and often after, that I would never send him away from me, if he was willing to stay with me.

Upon the whole, as I found by all his discourse, a settled affection to me, and that nothing should part him from me, so I found all the foundation of his desire to go to his own country, was laid in his ardent affection to the people, and his hopes of my doing them good; a thing, which, as I had no notion of myself, so I had not the least thought, intention, or desire of undertaking it; but still I found a strong inclination to my attempting an escape, as above, founded on the supposition gathered from the former discourse, viz. that there were seventeen bearded men there; and therefore, without any delay, I went to work with Friday, to find out a great tree proper to fell, and make a large perigua or canoe, to undertake the voyage. There were trees enough in the island to have built a little fleet, not of periguas and canoes only, but even of good large vessels: but the main thing I looked at, was to get one so near  
the

the water, that we might launch it when it was made, to avoid the mistake I committed at first.

At last, Friday pitched upon a tree; for I found he knew much better than I, what kind of wood was fittest for it; nor can I tell to this day what wood to call the tree we cut down, except that it was very like the tree we call fustick, or between that and the nicaragua-wood, for it was much of the same colour and smell. Friday was for burning the hollow or cavity of this tree out, to make it into a boat; but I shewed him how rather to cut it out with tools, which, after I shewed him how to use, he did very handily, and in about a month's hard labour we finished it, and made it very handsome, especially when with our axes, which I shewed him how to handle, we cut and hewed the outside into the true shape of a boat; after this, however, it cost us near a fortnight's time to get her along, as it were inch by inch, upon great rollers, into the water: but when she was in, she would have carried twenty men with great ease.

When she was in the water, and though she was so big; it amazed me to see with what dexterity and how swift my man Friday could manage her, turn her, and paddle her along; so I asked him if he would, and if we might venture over in her. "Yes," he said, he ventured over in her very well, though great blow wind." However, I had a farther design, that he knew nothing of, and that was to make a mast and sail, and to fit her with an anchor and cable. As to a mast, that was easy enough to get; so I pitched upon a straight young cedar-tree, which I found near the place, and which there was great plenty of in the island; and I set Friday to work to cut it down, and gave him directions how to shape and order it; but as to the sail that was my particular care. I knew I had old sails, or rather pieces of old sails enough; but as I had had them now twenty-six years by me, and had not been very careful to preserve them, not imagining that I should ever have this kind of use for them,  
I did

I did not doubt but they were all rotten; and indeed most of them were so; however, I found two pieces which appeared pretty good, and with these I went to work, and with a great deal of pains, and aukward tedious stitching, (you may be sure) for want of needles, I at length made a three-cornered ugly thing, like what we call in England a shoulder-of-mutton sail, to go with a boom at bottom, and a little short sprit at the top, such as usually our ships long-boats sail with, and such as I best knew how to manage, because it was such an one as I used in the boat in which I made my escape from Barbary, as related in the first part of my story.

I was near two months performing this last work, viz. rigging and fitting my mast and sails; for I finished them very compleat, making a small stay, and a sail or foresail to it, to assist if we should turn to windward; and, which was more than all, I fixed a rudder to the stern of her, to steer with; and though I was but a bungling shipwright, yet as I knew the usefulness and even necessity of such a thing, I applied myself with so much pains to do it, that at last I brought it to pass, though, considering the many dull contrivances I had for it that failed, I think it cost me almost as much labour as making the boat.

After all this was done, I had my man Friday to teach as to what belonged to the navigation of my boat; for though he knew very well how to paddle the canoe, he knew nothing what belonged to a sail and a rudder, and was the most amazed when he saw me work the boat to-and-again in the sea by the rudder, and how the sail gibbed, and filled this way or that way, as the course we sailed changed; I say, when he saw this, he stood like one astonished and amazed; however, with a little use, I made all these things familiar to him, and he became an expert sailor, except that as to the compass, I could make him understand very little of that. On the other hand, as there was very little cloudy weather, and seldom or never any fogs in those parts, there was the less occasion for a compass, seeing the stars were always  
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to be seen by night, and the shore by day, except in the rainy seasons ; and then nobody cared to stir abroad, either by land or sea.

I was now entered on the seven-and-twentieth year of my captivity in this place ; though the three last years, that I had this creature with me, ought rather to be left out of the account, my habitation being quite of another kind than in all the rest of my time. I kept the anniversary of my landing here with the same thankfulness to God for his mercies as at first : and if I had such cause of acknowledgment at first, I had much more so now, having such additional testimonies of the care of Providence over me, and the great hopes I had of being effectually and speedily delivered ; for I had an invincible impression upon my thoughts that my deliverance was at hand, and that I should not be another year in this place. However, I went on with my husbandry, digging, planting, fencing, as usual ; I gathered and cured my grapes, and did every necessary thing, as before.

The rainy season was in the mean time upon me, when I kept more with-in-doors than at other times : so I had stowed our new vessel as secure as we could, bringing her up into the creek, where, as I said in the beginning, I landed my rafts from the ship ; and hauling her up to the shore, at high-water mark, I made my man Friday dig a little dock, just big enough to hold her, and just deep enough to give her water enough to float in ; and then when the tide was out, we made a strong dam across the end of it, to keep the water out ; and so she lay dry, as to the tide, from the sea ; and to keep the rain off, we laid a great many boughs of trees so thick, that she was as well thatched as an house ; and thus we waited for the months of November and December, in which I designed to make my adventure.

When the settled season began to come in, as the thought of my design returned with the fair weather, I was preparing daily for the voyage ; and the first thing I did was to lay up a certain quantity of provision, being the store for the voyage ; and intended in a week or a fortnight's



night's time to open the dock, and launch out our boat. I was busy one morning upon something of this kind, when I called to Friday, and bid him go to the sea-shore, and see if he could find a turtle or tortoise, a thing which we generally got once a week, for the sake of the eggs as well as the flesh. Friday had not been long gone, when he came running back, and flew over my outward wall, or fence, like one that felt not the ground, or the steps he set his feet on; and before I had time to speak to him, he cried out to me—"O master! O master! O sorrow! O bad!—" "What is the matter, Friday?" said I. "O yonder there," says he, "one, two, three canoe! one, two, three!" By this way of speaking, I concluded there were six; but on enquiry I found there were but three. "Well, Friday," said I, "do not be frightened;" so I heartened him up as well as I could. However, I saw the poor fellow most terribly scared; for nothing ran in his head but that they were come to look for him, and would cut him in pieces and eat him. The poor fellow trembled so, that I scarce knew what to do with him. I comforted him as well as I could, and told him I was in as much danger as he, and that they would eat me as well as him. "But," said I, "Friday, we must resolve to fight them. Can you fight, Friday?"—"Me shoot," says he; "but there come many great number."—"No matter for that," said I again; "our guns will fright them that we do not kill." So I asked him, whether, if I resolved to defend him, he would defend me, and stand by me, and do just as I bade him? He said—"Me die, when you bid die, master." So I went and fetched a good dram of rum, and gave him; for I had been so good an husband of my rum, that I had a great deal left. When he had drank it, I made him take the two fowling-pieces which we always carried, and load them with large swan-shot, as big as small pistol-bullets; then I took four muskets, and loaded them with two slugs, and five bullets each; and my two pistols I loaded with a brace of bullets

lets each: I hung my great sword as usual, naked by my side, and gave Friday his hatchet.

When I had thus prepared myself, I took my perspective-glass, and went up to the side of the hill, to see what I could discover; and I found quickly, by my glass, that there were one-and-twenty savages, three prisoners, and three canoes; and that their whole business seemed to be the triumphant banquet upon these three human bodies; a barbarous feast indeed; but nothing more than, as I have observed, was usual with them.

I observed also, that they were landed, not where they had done when Friday made his escape, but nearer to my creek, where the shore was low, and where a thick wood came close almost down to the sea. This, with the abhorrence of the inhuman errand these wretches came about, so filled me with indignation, that I came down again to Friday, and told him I was resolved to go down to them, and kill them all; and asked him if he would stand by me. He was now gotten over his fright, and his spirits being a little raised with the dram I had given him, he was very cheerful; and told me as before, "he would die, when I bid die."

In this fit of fury, I took first and divided the arms which I had charged, as before, between us: I gave Friday one pistol, to stick in his girdle, and three guns upon his shoulder; and I took one pistol, and the other three myself; and in this posture we marched out. I took a small bottle of rum in my pocket, and gave Friday a large bag with more powder and bullet; and as to orders, I charged him to keep close behind me, and not to stir, shoot, or do any thing till I bid him; and in the mean time, not to speak a word. In this posture I fetched a compass to my right-hand of near a mile, as well to get over the creek, as to get into the wood; so that I might come within shot of them before I could be discovered, which I had seen by my glass it was easy to do.

While I was making this march, my former thoughts

returning, I began to abate my resolution; I do not mean, that I entertained any fear of their number; for as they were naked, unarmed wretches, it is certain I was superior to them; nay, though I had been alone; but it occurred to my thoughts, what call, what occasion, much less, what necessity, I was in to go and dip my hands in blood, to attack people, who had neither done or intended me any wrong; who, as to me, were innocent, and whose barbarous customs were their own disaster, being in them a token indeed of God's having left them, with the other nations of that part of the world, to such stupidity and to such inhuman courses; but did not call me to take upon me to be a judge of their actions, much less an executioner of his justice: that whenever he thought fit, he would take the cause into his own hands, and by national vengeance punish them for national crimes; but that, in the mean time, it was none of my business; that it was true, Friday might justify it, because he was a declared enemy, and in a state of war with those very particular people, and it was lawful for him to attack them; but I could not say the same with respect to myself. These things so warmly pressed upon my thoughts all the way I went, that I resolved I would only go place myself near them, that I might observe their barbarous feast, and that I would act then as God should direct; but that unless something offered that was more a call to me than yet I knew of, I would not meddle with them.

With this resolution I entered the wood; and with all possible wariness and silence, (Friday following close at my heels) I marched till I came to the skirt of the wood, on the side which was next to them; only that one corner of the wood lay between me and them. Here I called softly to Friday, and shewing him a great tree, which was just at the corner of the wood, I bade him go to the tree, and bring me word if he could see there plainly what they were doing. He did so, and came immediately back to me, and told me they might be plainly viewed there; that they were all about the fire, eating

the flesh of one of the prisoners ; and that another lay bound upon the sand, a little from them, whom he said they would kill next, and which fired the very soul within me. He told me it was not one of their nation, but one of the bearded men whom he had told me of, who came to their country in the boat. I was filled with horror at the very naming the white-bearded man ; and going to the tree, I saw plainly, by my glass, a white man who lay upon the beach of the sea, with his hands and his feet tied with flags, or things like rushes, and that he was an European, and had cloaths on.

There was another tree, and a little thicket beyond it, about fifty yards nearer to them than the place where I was, which, by going a little way about, I saw I might come at undiscovered, and that then I should be within half shot of them ; so I withheld my passion, though I was indeed enraged to the highest degree ; and going back about twenty paces, I got behind some bushes, which held all the way till I came to the other tree, and then I came to a little rising ground, which gave me a full view of them, at a distance of about eighty yards.

I had now not a moment to lose : for nineteen of the dreadful wretches sat upon the ground all close huddled together, and had just sent the other two to butcher the poor Christian, and bring him, perhaps, limb by limb to their fire ; and they were stooped down to untie the bands at his feet. I turned to Friday ; ‘ Now Friday,’ said I, ‘ do as I bid thee.’ Friday said he would. ‘ Then Friday,’ said I, ‘ do exactly as you see me do ; fail in nothing.’ So I set down one of the musquets and the fowling-piece upon the ground, and Friday did the like by his ; and with the other musquet I took my aim at the savages, bidding him do the like. Then asking him if he was ready, he said—‘ Yes.’—‘ Then fire at them,’ said I ; and the same moment I fired also.

Friday took his aim so much better than I, that on the side he shot, he killed two of them, and wounded  
three





ROBINSON CRUSOE, VOL. II. P. 45.  
Robinson Crusoe & his Man Friday,  
bring upon the Savages.

J. Allen, delin!

Engraved for C. Cooke, Paternoster Row, June 20. 1783.

W. Onions, sculp!

2 JY 58

three more ; and on my side, I killed one and wounded two. They were, to be sure, in a dreadful consternation ; and all of them who were not hurt, jumped up upon their feet immediately, but did not know which way to run, or which way to look ; for they knew not from whence their destruction came- Friday kept his eyes close upon me, that, as I had bid him, he might observe what I did ; so as soon as the first shot was made, I threw down the piece, and took up the fowling-piece, and Friday did the like : seeing me cock and present, he did the same again. ‘ Are you ready, Friday ? ’ said I, ‘ Yes, ’ said he. ‘ Let fly then, ’ said I, ‘ in the name of God ! ’ and with that I fired again among the amazed wretches, and so did Friday ! and as our pieces were now loaden with what I called swan-shot, or small pistol-bullets, we found only two drop ; but so many were wounded, that they ran about yelling and screaming like mad creatures, all bloody and miserably wounded, most of them ; whereof three more fell quickly after, though not quite dead.

‘ Now, Friday, ’ said I, laying down the discharged pieces, and taking up the musquet, which was yet loaden, ‘ follow me ! ’ which he did with a deal of courage ; upon which I rushed out of the wood, and shewed myself, and Friday close at my foot. As soon as I perceived they saw me, I shouted as loud as I could, and bade Friday do so too ; and running as fast as I could, (which, by the way, was not very fast, being loaded with arms as I was) I made directly towards the poor victim, who was, at I said, laying on the beach, or shore, between the place where they sat and the sea. The two butchers who were just going to work with him, had left him at the surprize of our first fire, and fled in a terrible fright to the sea-side, and had jumped into a canoe, and three more of the rest made the same way : I turned to Friday, and bade him step forwards and fire at them ; he understood me immediately, and running about forty yards to be near them, he shot at them, and I thought he had killed them all ; for I saw

them all fall on an heap into the boat ; though I saw two of them up again quickly : however, he killed two, and wounded the third, so that he lay down in the bottom of the boat, as if he had been dead.

While my man Friday fired at them, I pulled out my knife, and cut the flags that bound the poor victim, and loosing his hands and feet, I lifted him up, and asked him in the Portuguese tongue what he was ? He answered in Latin, ‘ Christianus ;’ but was so weak and faint, that he could scarce stand or speak ; I took my bottle out of my pocket, and gave it him, making signs that he should drink, which he did ; and I gave him a piece of bread, which he eat ; then I asked him what countryman he was ? and he said, ‘ Espagnole ;’ and being a little recovered, let me know, by all the signs he could possibly make, how much he was in my debt for his deliverance. ‘ Seignior,’ said I, with as much Spanish as I could make up, ‘ we will talk afterwards, ‘ but we must fight now : if you have any strength left, ‘ take this pistol and sword and lay about you.’ He took them very thankfully, and no sooner had he the arms in his hands, but, as if they had put new vigour into him, he flew upon his murderers like a fury, and had cut two of them in pieces in an instant ; for the truth is, as the whole was a surprize to them, so the poor creatures were so much frightened with the noise of our pieces, that they fell down from mere amazement and fear, and had no more power to attempt their own escape, than their flesh had to resist our shot ; and that was the case with those five that Friday shot in the boat : for as three of them fell with the hurt they received, so the other two fell with the fright.

I kept my piece in my hand still, without firing, being willing to keep my charge ready, because I had given the Spaniard my pistol and sword ; so I called to Friday, and bade him run up to the tree from whence we first fired, and fetch the arms which lay there that had been discharged, which he did with great swiftness ; and then giving him my musquet, I sat down myself



to load all the rest again, and bade them come to me when they wanted. While I was loading these pieces there happened a fierce engagement between the Spaniard and one of the savages, who made at him with one of their great wooden swords, the same weapon that was to have killed him before, if I had not prevented it. The Spaniard, who was as bold and as brave as could be imagined, though weak, had fought this Indian a good while, and had cut two great wounds on his head; but the savage, being a stout lusty fellow, closing in with him, had thrown him down, (being faint) and was wringing my sword out of his hand, when the Spaniard, though undermost, wisely quitting his sword, drew the pistol from his girdle, shot the savage through the body, and killed him upon the spot, before I, who was running to help, could come near him.

Friday, being now left at his liberty, pursued the flying wretches with no weapon in his hand but his hatchet; and with that he dispatched those three, who as I said before, were wounded at first and fallen, and all the rest he could come up with; and the Spaniard coming to me for a gun, I gave him one of the fowling-pieces, with which he pursued two of the savages and wounded them both; but as he was not able to run, they both got from him into the woods, where Friday pursued them, and killed one of them; but the other was too nimble for him; and though he was wounded, yet he plunged into the sea, and swam with all his might off to those who were left in the canoe; with three in the canoe, with one wounded, who we know not whether he died or no, were all that escaped our hands of one and twenty. The account of the rest is as follows:

- 3 Killed at our shot from the tree.
- 2 Killed at the next shot.
- 2 Killed by Friday in the boat.
- 2 Killed by ditto, of those at first wounded.
- 1 Killed by ditto, in the wood.

3 Killed by the Spaniard.

4 Killed, being found dropt here and there, of their wounds, or killed by Friday in his chace of them.

4 Escaped in the boat, whereof one wounded, if not dead.

—  
21 In all.

Those that were in the canoe worked hard to get out of gun-shot ; and though Friday made two or three shot at them, I did not find that he hit any of them. Friday would fain have had me take one of their canoes and pursue them ; and indeed I was very anxious about their escape, lest, carrying the news home to their people, they should come back, perhaps, with two or three hundred of their canoes, and devour us by mere multitudes ; so I consented to pursue them by sea ; and running to one of their canoes, I jumped in, and bade Friday follow me ; but when I was in the canoe, I was surprized to find another poor creature lie there alive, bound hand and foot, as the Spaniard was, for the slaughter, and almost dead with fear, not knowing what the matter was ; for he had not been able to look up over the side of the boat, he was tied so hard, neck and heels, and had been tied so long, that he had really little life in him.

I immediately cut the twisted flags or rushes, which they had bound him with, and would have helped him up ; but he could not stand or speak, but groaned most piteously, believing, it seems, still that he was only unbound in order to be killed.

When Friday came to him, I bade him speak to him, and tell him of his deliverance ; and pulling out my bottle, made him give the poor wretch a dram ; which with the news of his being delivered, revived him, and he sat up in the boat ; but when Friday came to hear him speak, and looked in his face, it would have moved any one to tears, to have seen how Friday kissed him, embraced him, hugged him, cried, laughed, hallooed, jumped about, danced, sung, then cried again, wrung his

his hands, beat his own face and head, and then sung and jumped about again, like a distracted creature. It was a good while before I could make him speak to me, or tell me what was the matter; but when he came a little to himself, he told me that it was his father.

It was not easy for me to express how it moved me, to see what extasy and filial affection had worked in this poor savage, at the sight of his father, and of his being delivered from death; nor indeed can I describe half the extravagancies of his affection after this; for he went into the boat, and out of the boat, a great many times: when he went in to him, he would sit down by him, open his breast, and hold his father's head close to his bosom, half an hour together, to nourish it; he then took his arms and ancles, which were numbed and stiff with the binding, and chafed, and rubbed them with his hands; and I perceiving what the case was, gave him some rum out of my bottle to rub them with, which did them a great deal of good.

This circumstance put an end to our pursuit of the canoe with the other savages, who were now gotten almost out of sight; and it was happy for us that we did not; for it blew so hard within two hours after, and before they could be gotten a quarter of their way, and continued blowing so hard all night, and that from the north-west, which was against them, that I could not suppose their boat could live, or that they ever reached to their own coast.

But to return to Friday. He was so busy about his father, that I could not find in my heart to take him off for some time; but, after I thought I could leave him a little, I called him to me, and he came jumping and laughing, and pleased to the highest extreme. Then I asked him, if he had given his father any bread. He shook his head, and said—'None: ugly dog eat all up self.'—So I gave him a cake of bread out of a little pouch I carried on purpose; I also gave him a dram for himself, he would not, however, taste it, but carried it to his father. I had in my pocket, also, two or three bunches

bunches of raisins ; so I gave him a handful of them for his father. He had no sooner given his father these raisins, but I saw him come out of the boat, and run away as if he had been bewitched. He ran at such a rate, (for he was the swiftest fellow of his feet that ever I saw ;) I say, he ran at such a rate, that he was out of sight as it were in an instant ; and though I called and hallooed too after him, it was all one ; away he went, and in a quarter of an hour I saw him come back again though not so fast as he went ; and as he came nearer, I found his pace was slacker, because he had something in his hand.

When he came up to me I found he had been quite home for an earthen jug or pot, to bring his father some fresh water ; and that he had got two more cakes or loaves of bread. The bread he gave me, but the water he carried to his father ; however, as I was very thirsty too, I took a little sup of it : this water revived his father more than all the rum or spirits I had given him ; for he was just fainting with thirst.

When his father had drank, I called him to know if there was any water left ; he said, yes : and I bade him give it to the poor Spaniard, who was in as much want of it as his father ; and I sent one of the cakes, that Friday brought, to the Spaniard too, who was, indeed, very weak, and was reposing himself upon a green place, under the shade of a tree, and whose limbs were also very stiff, and very much swelled with the rude bandage he had been tied with : when I saw that upon Friday's coming to him with the water, he sat up and drank, and took the bread and began to eat, I went to him, and gave him a handful of raisins : he looked up in my face with all the tokens of gratitude and thankfulness that could appear in any countenance ; but was so weak notwithstanding he had so exerted himself in the fight, that he could not stand up upon his feet ; he tried to do it two or three times, but was really not able, his ancles were so swelled and so painful to him ; so I bade him sit still, and caused Friday to rub his ancles, and bathe them with rum, as he had done his father's. I





ROBINSON CRUSOE. VOLUME 48.  
Friday bathing the Ankle of the Spaniard  
whom he had rescued from the Savages.

R. Bould, delin.

Engraved for C. Cooke, Publisher.

London: Nov. 29, 1783.

H. Harkins, sculp.

2 JY 58

I observed the poor affectionate creature every two minutes, or perhaps less, all the while he was here, turned his head about, to see if his father was in the same place and posture as he left him sitting: at length finding he was not to be seen, he started up, and without speaking a word, flew with that swiftness to him, that one could scarce perceive his feet to touch the ground as he went, but when he came, he only found he had laid himself down to ease his limbs; so Friday came back to me presently, and then I spoke to the Spaniard to let Friday help him up, if he could, and lead him to the boat, and then he should carry him to our dwelling, where I would take care of him; but Friday, a lusty young fellow, took the Spaniard quite up upon his back, and carried him away to the boat, and set him down softly upon the side or gunnel of the canoe, with his feet in the inside of it, and then lifted them quite in, and set him close to his father; and presently stepping out again, launched the boat off, and paddled it along the shore faster than I could walk, though the wind blew pretty hard too: so he brought them safe into our creek; and leaving them in the boat, ran away to fetch the other canoe. As he passed me, I spoke to him, and asked him, whither he went. He told me—‘Go, fetch more boat.’ So away he went like the wind, for sure never man or horse ran like him; and he had the other canoe in the creek, almost as soon as I got to it by land, so he waisted me over, and then went to help our new guests out of the boat, which he did: but they were neither of them able to walk; so that poor Friday knew not what to do.

To remedy this I set about considering what method I could take to get these poor creatures to our habitation; at length a project came into my head, and calling to Friday to bid them sit down on the bank while he came to me, I soon made a kind of hand-barrow to lay them on; and Friday and I carried them both together upon it between us: but when we got them to the outside of our wall or fortification, we were at a  
greater

greater loss than before; for it was impossible to get them over; and I was resolved not to break it down: so I set to work again; and Friday and I, in about two hours time, made a very handsome tent, covered with old sails, and, above that, with boughs of trees; being in the space without our outward fence, and between that and the grove of young wood which I had planted; and here we made two beds, of such things as I had, viz. of good rice-straw, with blankets laid upon it, to lie on, and another to cover them, on each bed.

My island was now peopled, and I thought myself very rich in subjects; and it was a diverting reflection which I frequently enjoyed how like a king I looked. First of all, the whole country was my own mere property; so that I had an undoubted right of dominion; secondly, my people were perfectly subjected; I was absolute lord and law-giver; they all owed their lives to me, and were ready to lay down their lives, if there had been occasion for it, for me: it was remarkable too, I had but three subjects, and they were of three different religions; my man Friday was a Protestant, his father a Pagan, and a canibal, and the Spaniard a Papist. However, I allowed liberty of conscience throughout my dominions: but this by the way.

As soon as I had secured my two weak rescued prisoners, and given them shelter, and a place to rest them, I began to think of making some provision for them: and the first thing I did, I ordered Friday to take a yearly goat, betwixt a kid and a goat, out of my particular flock, to be killed; then I cut off the hinder quarter, and chopping it into smaller pieces, I set Friday to work to boiling and stewing, and made them a very good dish, I assure you, of flesh and broth, having put some barley and rice also into the broth; and as I cooked it without doors (for I made no fire within my inner wall) so I carried it all into the new tent; and having placed a table there for them, I sat down and eat my dinner also with them; and, as well as I could, cheered them and encouraged them, Friday being my interpreter,



interpreter, especially to his father, and indeed to the Spaniard too; for the Spaniard spoke the language of the savages pretty well.

After we had dined, or rather supped, I ordered Friday to take one of the canoes, and go and fetch our muskets, and other fire arms, which for want of time, we had left upon the place of battle; and the next day I ordered him to go and bury the dead bodies of the savages, which lay open to the sun, and would presently be offensive; I also ordered him to bury the horrid remains of their barbarous feast, which I knew were pretty much, and which I could not think of doing myself; nay, I could not bear to see them, if I went that way. All this he punctually performed, and defaced the very appearance of the savages being there, so that when I went again, I could scarce know where it was, otherwise than by the corner of the wood pointing to the place.

I then began to enter into a little conversation with my two new subjects; and first, I set Friday to enquire of his father, what he thought of the escape of the savages in that canoe, and whether he might expect a return of them, with a power too great for us to resist. His first opinion was, that the savages in the boat never could live out the storm, which blew that night they went off, but must of necessity be drowned, or driven south to those shores, where they were as sure to be devoured, as they were to be drowned if they were cast away: but as to what they would do if they came safe on shore; he said he knew not; but it was his opinion, that they were so dreadfully frightened with the manner of being attacked, the noise, and the fire, that he believed they would tell their people, they were all killed by thunder and lightning, and not by the hand of man; and that the two which appeared (viz. Friday and I) were two heavenly spirits or furies, come down to destroy them, and not men with weapons. This, he said, he knew, because he heard them all cry out so in their language to one another; for it was impossible

impossible for them to conceive that a man should dart, fire and speak thunder, and kill at a distance, without lifting up the hand, as was done now. And this old savage was in the right; for, as I understood since, by other hands, the savages of that part never attempted to go over to the island afterwards. They were so terrified with the accounts given by those four men (for it seems they did escape the sea) that they believed, whoever went to that enchanted island, would be destroyed with fire from the gods.

This however, I knew not, and therefore was under continual apprehensions for some time, and kept always upon my guard, I and all my army; for as we were four of us, I would have ventured upon an hundred of them fairly in the open field at any time.

In a little time, however, no more canoes appearing the fear of their coming wore off, and I began to take my former thoughts of a voyage to the main into consideration; being likewise assured by Friday's father, that I might depend upon good usage from their nation on his account, if I would go.

But my thoughts were a little suspended, when I had a serious discourse with the Spaniard, and when I understood, that there were sixteen more of his countrymen and Portuguese, who having been cast away, and made their escape to that side, lived there at peace indeed with the savages, but were very sore put to it for necessaries, and indeed for life: I asked him all the particulars of their voyage, and found they were a Spanish ship, bound from the Rio de la Plata to the Havannah, being directed to leave their loading there, which was chiefly hides and silver, and to bring back what European goods they could meet with; that they had five Portuguese seamen on board, whom they took out of another wreck; that five of their own men were drowned when first the ship was lost; and that these escaped through infinite dangers and hazards, and arrived almost starved, on the canibal coast, where they expected to have been devoured every moment.

He

He told me, they had some arms with them, but they were perfectly useless, for that they had neither powder or ball, the washing of the sea having spoiled all their powder, except a little which they used at their first landing, to provide themselves some food.

I asked him what he thought would become of them there; and if they had formed no design of making any escape. He said, they had many consultations about it; but that having neither vessel, nor tools to build one, or provisions of any kind, their counsels always ended in tears and despair.

I asked him how he thought they would receive a proposal from me, which might tend towards an escape, and whether, if they were all here, it might not be done. I told him with freedom, I feared mostly their treachery and ill usage of me, if I put my life in their hands; for that gratitude was no inherent virtue in the nature of man; nor did men always square their dealings by the obligations they had received, so much as they did by the advantages they expected: I told him it would be very hard that I should be the instrument of their deliverance, and that they should afterwards make me their prisoner in New Spain, where an Englishman was certain to be made a sacrifice, what necessity, or what accident soever, brought him thither; and that I had rather be delivered up to the savages, and be devoured alive, than fall into the merciless claws of the priests, and be carried into the Inquisition. I added, that otherwise I was persuaded, if they were all here, we might, with so many hands, build a bark large enough to carry us all away, either to the Brazils southward, or to the islands or Spanish coast northward; but that if, in requital, they should, when I had put weapons in their hands, carry me by force among their own people, I might be ill used for my kindness to them, and my situation become much worse than it was before.

He answered with a great deal of candour and ingenuity, that their condition was so miserable, and they

were so sensible of it, that he believed they would abhor the thought of using any man unkindly that should contribute to their deliverance; and that, if I pleased, he would go to them with the old man, and discourse with them about it, and would return again, and bring me their answer; that he would make conditions with them upon their solemn oath, that they would be absolutely under my leading, as their commander and captain; and that they should swear upon the Holy Sacraments and Gospel, to be true to me, and to go to such Christian country as I should agree to, and no other; and to be directed wholly and absolutely by my orders, till they were landed safely in such country as I intended, and that he would bring a contract from them under their hands for that purpose.

He then said, he would first swear to me himself, that he would never stir from me as long as he lived, till I gave him orders; and that he would defend me to the last drop of blood, if there should happen the least breach of faith among his countrymen.

He told me, they were all very civil honest men, and under the greatest distress imaginable, having neither weapons nor cloaths, nor any food, but at the mercy and discretion of the savages; out of all hopes of ever returning to their own country; and that he was sure, if I would undertake their relief, they would live and die by me.

Upon these assurances, I resolved to venture to relieve them, if possible, and to send the old savage and this Spaniard over to them to treat. But when he had gotten all things in readiness to go, the Spaniard himself started an objection, which had so much prudence in it on one hand, and so much sincerity on the other, that I could not but be very well satisfied with it; and, by his advice, put off the deliverance of his comrades for at least half a year. The case was thus—

He had been with us now about a month; during which time I had let him see in what manner I had provided, with the assistance of Providence, for my support; and he saw evidently what stock of corn and rice



I had laid up; which, as it was more than sufficient for myself, so it was not sufficient at least, without good husbandry, for my family, now it was increased to four: but much less would it be sufficient, if his countrymen, who were, as he said, fourteen still alive, should come over; nor could there be sufficient to victual our vessel, if we should build one, for a voyage to any of the Christian colonies of America. So he told me, he thought it would be more adviseable, to let him and the other two dig and cultivate some more land, as much as I could spare seed to sow; and that we should wait another harvest, that we might have a supply of corn for his countrymen when they should come: for want might be a temptation to them to disagree, or not to think themselves delivered, otherwise than out of one difficulty into another. You know, (says he,) the children of Israel, 'though they rejoiced at first at their being delivered out of Egypt, yet rebelled even against God himself, that delivered them, when they came to want bread in the wilderness.'

His caution was so seasonable, and his advice so good, that I could not but be very well pleased with his proposal, as well as I was satisfied with his fidelity. So we commenced digging, all four of us, as well as the wooden tools we were furnished with permitted; and in about a month's time, by the end of which it was seed time, we had gotten as much land prepared and trimmed up as we sowed twenty-two bushels of barley on, and sixteen jars of rice; which was, in short, all the seed we had to spare; nor indeed did we leave ourselves barley sufficient for our own food for the six months that we had to expect our crop; that is to say, reckoning from the time we set our seed aside for sowing; for it is not to be supposed it is six months in the ground in that country.

Having now society enough, and our number being sufficient to put us out of fear of the savages, if they had come, unless their number had been very great, we went freely all over the island, wherever we found oc-

casion; and as here we had our escape or deliverance upon our thoughts, it was impossible, at least for me, to have the means of it out of mine: to this purpose, I marked out several trees, which I thought fit for our work, and I set Friday and his father to cutting them down; and then I caused the Spaniard, to whom I imparted my thoughts on that affair, to oversee and direct their work. I shewed them with what indefatigable pains I had hewed a large tree into single planks, and I caused them to do the like, till they had made about a dozen large planks of good oak, near two feet broad, thirty-five feet long, and from two inches to four inches thick: what prodigious labour it took up any one may imagine.

At the same time I contrived to increase my little flock of tame goats as much as I could; and to this purpose I made Friday and the Spaniard go out one day and myself, with Friday, the next day; for we took our turns: and by this means we got about twenty young kids to breed up with the rest: for whenever we shot the dam, we saved the kids, and added them to our flock. But above all, the season for curing the grapes coming on, I caused such a prodigious quantity to be hung up in the sun, that I believe, had we been at Alicante, where the raisins of the sun are cured, we should have filled sixty or eighty barrels; and these, with our bread, was a great part of our food, and very good living too, I assure you; for it is an exceeding nourishing food.

It was now harvest, and our crop in good order; it was not the most plentiful increase I had seen in the island, but, however, it was enough to answer our end; for, from twenty-two bushels of barley, we brought in and threshed out above two hundred and twenty bushels, and the like in proportion of the rice; which was store enough for our food to the next harvest, though all the sixteen Spaniards had been on shore with me; or, if we had been ready for a voyage, it would very plentifully have victualled our ship, to have carried us

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to any part of the world; that is to say, of America. When we had thus housed and secured our magazine of corn we fell to work to make more wicker work; viz. great baskets, in which we kept it; and the Spaniard was very handy and dextrous at this part, and often blamed me, that I did not make some things for defence, of this kind of work; but I saw no need of it. And now having a full supply of food for all the guests expected, I gave the Spaniard leave to go over to the main, to see what he could do with those he left behind him there: I gave him a strict charge in writing, not to bring any man with him who would not first swear, in the presence of himself and of the old savage, that he would in no way injure, fight with, or attack, the person he should find in the island, who was so kind to send for them in order to their deliverance; but that they would stand by and defend him against all such attempts; and wherever they went, would be entirely under, and subjected to his command: and that this should be put in writing, and signed with their hands. How we were to have this done, when I knew they had neither pen or ink, that indeed was a question which we never asked.

Under these instructions, the Spaniard and the old savage (the father of Friday) went away in one of the canoes, which they might be said to come in, or rather were brought in, when they came as prisoners, to be devoured by the savages.

I gave each of them a musket with a firelock on it, and about eight charges of powder and ball; charging them to be very good husbands of both, and not to use either of them but upon urgent occasions.

This was a cheerful work, being the first measures used by me in view of my deliverance for now twenty-seven years and some days. I gave them provisions of bread, and of dried grapes, sufficient for themselves for many days, and sufficient for their countrymen for about eight days time; and wishing them a good voyage I let them go, agreeing with them about a signal they

they should hang out at their return, by which I should know them again when they came back, at a distance, before they came on shore.

They went away with a fair gale, on the day that the moon was at the full; by my account, in the month of October; but as to the exact reckoning of days, after I had once lost it, I could never recover it again; nor had I kept even the number of years so punctually as to be sure that I was right; though, as it proved, when I afterwards examined my account, I found I had kept a true reckoning of years.

It was no less than eight days I waited for them, when a strange and unforeseen accident intervened, of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in history. I was fast asleep in my hutch one morning, when my man Friday came running in to me, and called aloud—  
‘Master! master! they are come, they are come!’

I jumped up, and, regardless of danger, went out as soon as I could get my cloaths on, through my little grove, which, by the way, was by this time grown to be a very thick wood: I say, regardless of danger, I went without my arms, which was not my custom to do; but I was surprised, when turning my eyes to the sea, I presently saw a boat at about a league and a half distance, standing in for the shore, with a shoulder-of-mutton sail, as they call it, and the wind blowing pretty fair to bring them in: also I observed presently, that they did not come from that side which the shore lay on, but from the southermost end of the island; upon this I called Friday in, and bid him lie close, for these were not the people we looked for, and that we did not know yet whether they were friends or enemies.

In the next place, I went in to fetch my perspective glass, to see what I could make of them; and having taken the ladder out, I climbed up to the top of the hill, as I used to do when I was apprehensive of any thing, and to take my view the plainer without being discovered.



I had scarce set my foot on the hill, when my eye plainly discovered a ship lying at an anchor, at about two leagues and a half distance from me, S. S. E. but not above a league and an half from the shore. By my observation it appeared plainly to be an English ship, and the boat appeared to be an English long-boat.

I cannot express the confusion I was in, though the joy of seeing a ship, and one whom I had reason to believe was manned by my own countrymen, and consequently friends, was such as I cannot describe; but yet I had some secret doubts hung about me, I cannot tell from whence they came, bidding me to keep upon my guard. In the first place, it occurred to me to consider what business an English ship could have in that part of the seas, since it was not the way to or from any part of the world where the English had any traffick; and I knew there had been no storms to drive them in there, as in distress; and that if they were English really, it was most probable, that they were here upon no good design; and that I had better continue as I was, than fall into the hands of thieves and murderers.

Let no man despise the secret hints and notices of danger, which sometimes are given him when he may think there is no possibility of its being real. That such hints and notices are given us, I believe few that have made any observations of things can deny; that there are certain discoveries of an invisible world, and a converse of spirits, we cannot doubt; and if the tendency of them seems to be to warn us of danger, why should we not suppose they are from some friendly agent (whether Supreme, or inferior and subordinate, is not the question) and that they are given for our good?

The present question abundantly confirms me in the justice of this reasoning; for had I not been made cautious by this secret admonition, come it from whence it would, I had been undone inevitably, and in a far worse condition than before.

I had not kept myself long in this posture, when I saw the boat draw near the shore, as if they looked for a  
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creek to thrust in at for the convenience of landing; however, as they did not come quite far enough, they did not see the little inlet where I formerly landed my rafts, but run their boat on shore upon the beach, at about half a mile from me, which was a happy circumstance; for otherwise they would have landed just, as I may say, at my door, and would have soon beaten me out of my castle, and perhaps have plundered me of all I had.

When they were on shore, I was fully satisfied they were Englishmen; at least most of them: one or two I thought were Dutch, but it did not prove so. There were in all eleven men, whereof three of them I found were unarmed, and (as I thought) bound: and when the first four or five of them were jumped on shore, they took those three out of the boat as prisoners. One of the three I could perceive using the most passionate gestures of intreaty, affliction, and despair, even to a kind of extravagance; the other two I could perceive lifted up their hands sometimes, and appeared concerned indeed, but not to such a degree as the first.

I was perfectly confounded at the sight, and knew not what the meaning of it could be. Friday called out to me in English, as well as he could—‘O master! you see English mans eat prisoners as well as savage mans.’—‘Why (said I) Friday, do you think they are going to eat them then?’—‘Yes (says Friday) they will eat them.’—‘No, no (said I) Friday, I am afraid they will murder them, indeed; but you may be sure they will not eat them.’

All this while I had no thought of what the matter really was, but stood trembling with horror at the sight, expecting every moment when the three prisoners should be killed; nay, once I saw one of the villains lifted up his arm with a great *cutlass* (as the seamen call it) or sword, to strike one of the poor men; and I expected to see him fall every moment, at which all the blood in my body seemed to run chill in my veins.

I wished heartily now for our Spaniard, and the savage that was gone with him; or that I had any way

to have come undiscovered within shot of them, that I might have rescued the three men; for I saw no fire-arms they had among them: but it fell out to my mind another way.

After I had observed the outrageous usage of the three men by the insolent seamen, I observed the fellows run scattering about the land, as if they wanted to see the country: I observed also, that the three other men had liberty to go where they pleased; but they sat down all three upon the ground very pensive, and looked like men in despair.

This put me in mind of the first time when I came on shore, and began to look about me; how I gave myself over for lost, how wildly I looked round me, what dreadful apprehensions I had, and how I lodged in the tree all night, for fear of being devoured by wild beasts.

As I knew nothing that night of the supply I was to receive by the providential driving of the ship nearer the land by the storms and tide, by which I have since been so long nourished and supported; so these three poor desolate men knew nothing how certain of deliverance and supply they were, how near it was to them, and how effectually and really they were in a condition of safety, at the time they thought themselves lost, and their case desperate.

So little do we see before us in the world, and so much reason have we to depend chearfully upon the Great Maker of the world, that he does not leave his creatures so absolutely destitute, but that in the worst circumstances they have always something to be thankful for, and sometimes are nearer their deliverance than they imagine; nay, are even brought to their deliverance by the very means by which they seem to be brought to their destruction.

It was just at the time of high-water when the people came on shore, and while partly they stood parleying with the prisoners they brought, and partly while they rambled about to see what kind of place they were  
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in, they had carelessly staid till the tide was spent, and the water had ebb'd considerably away, leaving their boat aground.

They had left two men in the boat, who, as I found afterwards, having drank a little too much brandy, fell asleep; however, one of them waking sooner than the other, and finding the boat too fast aground for him to stir it, hallooed for the rest who were straggling about, upon which they all soon came to the boat; but it was past all their strength to launch her, the boat being very heavy, and the shore on that side being a soft oozy sand almost like a quick-sand.

In this condition, like true seamen, who are, perhaps, the least of all mankind given to fore-thought, they gave it over, and away they strolled about the country again; and I heard one of them say aloud to another, (calling them off from the boat,) 'Why, let her alone Jack, can't ye? she'll float next tide.' By which I was fully confirmed in the main enquiry, of what countrymen they were.

All this while I kept myself close, not once daring to stir out of my castle, any farther than to my place of observation, near the top of the hill; and very glad I was, to think how well it was fortified. I knew it was no less than ten hours before the boat could be on float again, and by that time it would be dark, and I might be more at liberty to see their motions, and to hear their discourse, if they had any.

In the mean time I prepared myself for a battle, as before, though with more caution, knowing I had to do with another kind of enemy than I had at first. I ordered Friday also, whom I had made an excellent marksman with his gun, to load himself with arms. I took myself two fowling-pieces, and I gave him three musquets. My figure, indeed, was very fierce; I had my formidable goat-skin coat on, with the great cap I mentioned, a naked sword, two pistols in my belt, and a gun upon each shoulder.

It was my design, as I said before, not to have made any



any attempt till it was dark; but about two o'clock, being the heat of the day, I found that they were all gone straggling into the woods, and, as I thought, were all laid down to sleep. The three poor distressed men, too anxious for their condition to get any sleep, were however set down under the shelter of a great tree, at about a quarter of a mile from me, and, as I thought, out of sight of any of the rest.

Upon this I resolved to discover myself to them, and learn something of their condition. Immediately, I marched in the figure above, my man Friday at a good distance behind me, as formidable for his arms as I, but not making quite so staring a spectre-like figure as I did.

I came as near them undiscovered as I could, and then, before any of them saw me, I called aloud to them in Spanish—‘What are ye, gentlemen?’

They started up at the noise, but were ten times more confounded when they saw me, and the uncouth figure that I made. They made no answer at all, but I thought I perceived them just going to fly from me, when I spoke to them in English. ‘Gentlemen,’ (said I) ‘do not be surprized at me; perhaps you may have a friend near you, when you did not expect it.’—‘He must be sent directly from Heaven then,’ said one of them very gravely to me, and pulling off his hat at the same time; ‘for our condition is past the help of man.’ ‘All help is from Heaven, Sir, (said I :) but can you put a stranger in the way how to help you? for you seem to me to be in some great distress: I saw you when you landed; and when you seemed to make application to the brutes that came with you, I saw one of them lift up his sword to kill you.’

The poor man, with tears running down his face, and trembling, looking like one astonished, returned—‘Am I talking to God or man? Is it a real man, or an angel?’—‘Be in no fear about that, Sir, (said I,) if God had sent an angel to relieve you, he would have come better cloathed, and armed after another man-  
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‘ner than you see me. Pray lay aside your fears: I  
 ‘am a man, an Englishman, and disposed to assist you,  
 ‘you see; I have one servant only; we have arms and  
 ‘ammunition; tell us freely, can we serve you? What  
 ‘is your case?’

‘Our case, (said he) Sir, is too long to tell you,  
 ‘while our murderers are so near; but in short, Sir, I  
 ‘was commander of that ship, my men having muti-  
 ‘nied against me, they have been hardly prevailed on  
 ‘not to murder me; and at last have set me on shore  
 ‘in this desolate place, with these two men with me,  
 ‘one my mate, the other a passenger, where we expect  
 ‘to perish, believing the place to be uninhabited, and  
 ‘know not yet what to think of it.

‘Where are those brutes, your enemies? (said I.)  
 ‘do you know where they are gone?’—‘There they  
 ‘are, Sir, (said he, pointing to a thicket of trees;)   
 ‘my heart trembles for fear they have seen us, and heard  
 ‘you speak; if they have, they will certainly murder  
 ‘us all.’

‘Have they any fire arms? (said I.) He answered  
 they had only two pieces, and one which they left in  
 the boat. ‘Well then, (said I) leave the rest to me.  
 ‘I see they are all asleep; it is an easy thing to kill  
 ‘them all; but shall we rather take them prisoners?’  
 He told me there were two desperate villains among  
 them, that it was scarce safe to shew any mercy to; but  
 if they were secured, he believed all the rest would re-  
 turn to their duty. I asked him which they were? He  
 told me he could not at that distance describe them; but  
 he would obey my orders in any thing I would direct.  
 ‘Well (said I) let us retreat out of their view or hear-  
 ‘ing lest they awake, and we will resolve farther.’ So  
 they willingly went back with me, till the woods co-  
 vered us from them.

‘Look you, Sir, (said I) if I venture upon your de-  
 ‘liverance, are you willing to make two conditions  
 ‘with me?’ He anticipated my proposals, by telling  
 me, that both he and the ship, if recovered, should be  
 wholly

wholly directed and commanded by me in every thing; and if the ship was not recovered, he would live and die with me in what part of the world soever I would send him; and the other two men said the same.

‘Well, (said I) my conditions are but two: First, That while you stay on this island with me, you will not pretend to any authority here; and if I put arms into your hands, you will upon all occasions give them up to me, and do no prejudice to me or mine, upon this island, and in the mean time be governed by my orders.’

‘Secondly, That if the ship is or may be recovered, you will carry me and my man to England passage free.’

He gave all the assurance that the invention and faith of a man could devise, that he would comply with these most reasonable demands, and besides would owe his life to me, and acknowledge it upon all occasions as long as he lived.

‘Well then (said I) here are three muskets for you with powder and ball: tell me next what you think is proper to be done?’ He shewed all the testimony of his gratitude that he was able; but offered to be wholly guided by me. I told him, I thought it was hard venturing any thing, but the best method I could think of, was to fire upon them at once, as they lay; and if any were not killed at the first volley, and offered to submit, we might save them, and so put it wholly upon God’s providence to direct the shot.

He said, very modestly, that he was loth to kill them, if he could help it; but that those two were incorrigible villains, and had been the authors of all the mutiny in the ship; and if they escaped, we should be undone still, for they would go on board, and bring the whole ship’s company, and destroy us all. ‘Well, then (said I) necessity legitimates my advice; for it is the only way to save our lives.’ However, seeing him still cautious of shedding blood, I told him, they should go themselves, and manage as they found convenient.

In the middle of this discourse we heard some of them awake, and soon after we saw two of them on their feet: I asked him, if either of them were the men, who he had said were the heads of the mutiny. He said, 'No.'—  
 'Well then,' said I, 'you may let them escape, and  
 ' Providence seems to have awakened them on purpose  
 ' to save themselves : now, if the rest escape you, it is  
 ' your fault.'

Animated with this, he took the musket I had given him in his hand, and pistol in his belt, and his two comrades with him, with each man a piece in his hand : the two men who were with him going first, made some noise, at which one of the seamen who was awake, turned about, and seeing them coming, cried out to the rest: but it was too late then; for the moment he cried out, they fired; I mean the two men, the captain wisely reserving his own piece. They had so well aimed their shot at the men they knew, that one of them was killed on the spot, and the other very much wounded; but not being dead, he started up upon his feet, and called eagerly for help to the other; but the captain stepping to him, told him it was too late to cry for help; he should call upon God to forgive his villainy; and with that word knocked him down with the stock of his musket, so that he never spoke more; there were three more in the company, and one of them was also slightly wounded. By this time I was come; and when they saw their danger, and that it was in vain to resist, they begged for mercy: the captain told them he would spare their lives, if they would give him any assurance of their abhorrence of the treachery they had been guilty of, and would swear to be faithful to him in recovering the ship, and afterwards in carrying her back to Jamaica, from whence they came. They gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, and he was willing to believe them and spare their lives: which I was not against; only I obliged him to keep them bound hand and foot while they were upon the island.

While this was doing, I sent Friday and the captain's  
 mate



mate to the boat, with orders to secure her, and bring away the oars and sail, which they did; and, by and by, three straggling men, that were, (happily for them) parted from the rest, came back upon hearing the guns fired; and seeing their captain, who before was their prisoner, now their conqueror, they submitted to be bound also, by which means our victory was complete.

It now remained that the captain and I should enquire into one another's circumstances: I began first, and told him my whole history; which he heard with an attention even to amazement; and particularly at the wonderful manner of my being furnished with provisions and ammunition; and, indeed, as my story is a whole collection of wonders, it affected him deeply; but when he reflected from thence upon himself, and how I seemed to have been preserved there on purpose to save his life, the tears ran down his face, and he could not speak a word more.

After this communication was at an end, I conducted him, and his two men, into my apartment, leading them in just where I came out, viz. at the top of the house; where I refreshed them with such provisions as I had, and shewed them all the contrivances I had made, during my long inhabiting that place.

All I shewed them, all I said to them, was perfectly amazing; but, above all, the captain admired my fortification; and how perfectly I had concealed my retreat with a grove of trees, which, having now been planted near twenty years, and the trees growing much faster than in England, was become a little wood, and so thick, that it was unpassable in any part of it, but at that one side, where I had reserved my little winding passage into it: this I told him was my castle, and my residence; but that I had a seat in the country, as most princes have, whither I could retreat upon occasion, and I would shew him that too another time; but at present our business was to consider, how to recover the ship: he agreed with me as to that; but told me, he was perfectly at a loss what measures to take; for that

there were still six-and-twenty hands on board, who having entered into a cursed conspiracy, by which they had all forfeited their lives to the law, would be hardened in it now by desperation; and would carry it on, knowing that if they were reduced, they should be brought to the gallows as soon as they came to England, or to any of the English colonies; and that therefore there would be no attacking them with so small a number as we were.

I mused for some time upon what he had said, and found it was a very rational conclusion, and that therefore something was to be resolved on very speedily, as well to draw the men on board into some snare for their surprize, as to prevent their landing upon us, and destroying us: upon this it presently occurred to me, that in a little while, the ship's crew, wondering what was become of their comrades, and of the boat, would certainly come on shore in their other boat to see for them; and that then, perhaps, they might come armed, and be too strong for us. This, he allowed, was rational.

Upon this I told him the first thing we had to do was to stave the boat, which lay upon the beach, so that they might not carry her off; and, taking every thing out of her, leave her so far useless as not to be fit to swim; accordingly we went on board, took the arms which were left out of her, and whatever else we found there, which was a bottle of brandy, and another of rum, a few biscuit-cakes, a horn of powder, and a great lump of sugar in a piece of canvas: (the sugar was five or six pounds) all which was very welcome to me, especially the brandy and sugar, of which I had none left for many years.

When we had carried all these things on shore, (the oars, mast, sail, and rudder of the boat, were carried away before) we knocked a great hole in her bottom, that if they had come strong enough to master us, yet they could not carry off the boat.

Indeed, it was not much in my thoughts, that we could be capable of recovering the ship; but my view  
was

was, that if they went away without the boat, I did not much question to make her fit again to carry us to the Leeward Islands, and call upon our friends the Spaniards in my way, for I had them still in my thoughts.

While we were thus preparing our designs, and had first by main strength, heaved the boat up upon the beach, so high, that the tide would not float her off at high-water-mark; and, besides, had broken a hole in her bottom, too big to be quickly stopped, and were sat down musing what we should do, we heard the ship fire a gun, and saw her make a waft with her ancient, as a signal for the boat to come on board; but no boat stirred; and they fired several times, making other signals for the boat.

At last, when all their signals and firings proved fruitless, and they found the boat did not stir, we saw them, (by the help of our glassies) hoist another boat out, and row towards the shore; and we found, as they approached, that there were no less than ten men in her, and that they had fire-arms with them.

As the ship lay almost two leagues from the shore, we had a full view of them as they came, and a plain sight of the men, even of their faces; because the tide having set them a little to the east of the other boat, they rowed up under shore, to come to the same place where the others had landed, and where the boat lay.

By this means, I say, we had a full view of them, and the captain knew the persons and characters of all the men in the boat; of whom, he said, there were three very honest fellows, who he was sure were led into this conspiracy by the rest, being overpowered and frightened.

But that for the boatswain, who, it seems, was the chief officer among them, and all the rest, they were as outrageous as any of the ship's crew; and were, no doubt, made desperate in their new enterprize: and terribly apprehensive he was, that they would be too powerful for us.

I smiled at him, and told him, that men in our circumstances

circumstances were past the operations of fear : that seeing almost every condition that could be was better than that we were supposed to be in, we ought to expect that the consequence, whether death or life, would be sure to be a deliverance. I asked him, what he thought of the circumstances of my life ; and whether a deliverance was not worth venturing for. ‘ And where, Sir,’ said I, ‘ is your belief of my being preserved here on purpose to save your life, which elevated you a little while ago ? For my part, there seems to be but one thing amiss in all the prospect of it.’—‘ What’s that,’ said he. ‘ Why,’ said I, ‘ ’tis that, as you say there are three or four honest fellows among them, which should be spared : had they been all of the wicked part of the crew, I should have thought God’s providence had singled them out to deliver them into your hands ; for depend upon it, every man of them that comes a-shore, are our own, and shall die or live as they behave to us.’

As I spoke this with a raised voice, and cheerful countenance, I found it greatly encouraged him ; so we set vigorously to our business. We had, upon the first appearance of the boat’s coming from the ship, considered of separating our prisoners, and had, indeed, secured them effectually.

Two of them, of whom the captain was less assured than ordinary, I sent with Friday, and one of the three (delivered men) to my cave, where they were remote enough, and out of danger of being heard or discovered, or of finding their way out of the woods, if they could have delivered themselves. Here they left them bound, but gave them provisions, and promised them, if they continued there quietly, to give them their liberty in a day or two ; but that if they attempted their escape, they should be put to death without mercy. They promised faithfully to bear their confinement with patience, and were very thankful, that they had such good usage as to have provisions and a light left them ; for Friday gave them candles (such as we made ourselves) for



for their comfort ; and they did not know but that he stood centinel over them at the entrance.

The other prisoners had better usage : two of them were kept pinioned, indeed, because the captain was not free to trust them ; but the other two were taken into my service, upon their captain's recommendation, and upon their solemnly engaging to live and die with us ; so with them, and the three honest men, we were seven men well armed ; and I made no doubt we should be able to deal well enough with the ten that were coming, considering that the captain had said there were three or four honest men among them also.

As soon as they got to the place where their other boat lay, they ran their boat into the beach, and came all on shore, hauling the boat up after them, which I was glad to see ; for I was afraid they would rather have left the boat at an anchor, some distance from the shore, with some hands in her to guard her ; and so we should not be able to seize the boat.

Being on shore, they all immediately ran to the other boat ; and it was easy to see they were under a great surprize, to find her stripped, as above, of all that was in her ; and a great hole in her bottom.

After they had mused some time on this, they set up two or three great shouts, halloeing with all their might, to try if they could make their companions hear : but all was to no purpose ; they then placed themselves all close in a ring, and fired a volley of their small arms, which indeed we heard, and the echoes made the woods ring ; but it was all one : those in the cave, we were sure could not hear ; and those in our keeping, though they heard it well enough, yet durst give no answer to them.

They were so astonished at the surprize of this, that, as they told us afterwards, they resolved to go all on board again to their ship, and let the rest know that the men were all murdered, and the long-boat staved ; accordingly, they immediately launched the boat again, and got all of them on board,

The

The captain was terribly amazed and even confounded at this, believing they would go on board the ship again, and set sail, giving their comrades for lost, and so he should still lose the ship, which he was in hopes we should have recovered: but he was quickly as much frightened the other way.

They had not been long put off with the boat, but we perceived them all coming on shore again; but with this new measure in their conduct, which, it seems, they consulted together upon; viz. to leave three men in the boat, and the rest to go on shore, and go up into the country to look for their companions.

This was a great disappointment to us; for now we were at a loss what to do: for our seizing those seven men on shore would be no advantage to us, if we let the boat escape, because they would then row away to the ship, and the rest of them would be sure to weigh, and set sail, and so our recovering the ship would be lost.

However, we had no remedy but to wait and see what the issue of things might present: the seven men came on shore and the three who remained in the boat, put her off to a good distance from the shore, and came to an anchor to wait for them; so that it was impossible for us to come at them in the boat.

Those that came on shore kept close together, marching towards the top of the little hill, under which my habitation lay; and we could see them plainly, though they could not perceive us: we could have been very glad they would have come nearer to us, so that we might have fired at them; or that they would have gone farther off, that we might have come abroad.

But when they were come to the brow of the hill, where they could see a great way in the valley and woods which lay towards the north-east part, and where the island lay lowest, they shouted and hallooed till they were weary; and not caring, it seems, to venture far from the shore, nor far from one another, they sat down together under a tree, to consider of it: had they thought  
fit

fit to have gone to sleep there, as the other party of them had done, they had done the job for us ; but they were too full of apprehensions of danger to venture to go to sleep, though they could not tell what the danger was they had to fear neither.

The captain made a very just proposal to me upon this consultation of theirs, viz. that perhaps they would all fire a volley again, to endeavour to make their fellows hear, and that we should all fall upon them just at the juncture when their pieces were all discharged, and they would certainly yield, and we should have them without bloodshed ; I liked the proposal, provided it was done while we were near enough to come up to them, before they could load their pieces again.

But this event did not happen, and we lay still a long time, very irresolute what course to take ; at length I told them there would be nothing to be done, in my opinion till night ; and then, if they did not return to the boat, perhaps we might find a way to get between them and the shore, and so might use some stratagem with those in the boat to quit her.

We waited a great while, though very impatient, for their removing, and were very uneasy ; when, after long consultations, we saw them all start up and march down towards the sea. It seems, they had such dreadful apprehensions upon them of the danger of the place, that they resolved to go on board the ship again, give their companions over for lost, and so go on with their intended voyage with the ship.

As soon as I perceived them go towards the shore, I imagined it to be as it really was ; that they had given over their search, and were for going back again : and the captain, as soon as I told him my thoughts, was ready to sink at the apprehensions of it ; but I presently thought of a stratagem to fetch them back again, and which answered my end to a tittle.

I ordered Friday and the captain's mate to go over the little creek westward, towards the place where the savages came on shore when Friday was rescued ; and

as soon as they came to a little rising ground, at about half a mile distance, I bad them halloo as loud as they could, and wait till they found the seamen heard them; that as soon as ever they heard the seamen answer them they should return it again, and then keeping out of sight, take a round, always answering when the others hallooed, to draw them as far into the island, and among the woods, as possible; and then wheel about again to me, by such ways as I directed.

They were just going into the boat, when Friday and the mate hallooed, and they presently heard them, and answering, ran along the shore westward, towards the voice they heard, when they were presently stopped by the creek, where the water being up, they could not get over, and called for the boat to come up, and set them over, as indeed I expected.

When they had set themselves over, I observed that the boat being gone up a good way into the creek, and as it were in a harbour within the land, they took one of the three men out of her to go along with them, and left only two' in the boat, having fastened her to the stump of a little tree on the shore.

This was what I wished for; and immediately leaving Friday and the captain's mate to their business, I took the rest with me, and crossing the creek out of their sight, we surprised the two men before they were aware, one of them lying on shore, and the other being in the boat; the fellow on shore was between sleeping and waking, and going to start up, the captain who was foremost, ran in upon him, and knocked him down, and then called out to him in the boat to yield, or he was a dead man.

There needed very few arguments to make a single man yield, when he saw five men upon him, and his comrade knocked down; besides, this was, it seems, one of the three who were not so hearty in the mutiny as the rest of the crew, and therefore was easily persuaded, not only to yield, but afterwards to join very sincerely with us.

In



In the mean time, Friday and the captain's mate so well managed their business with the rest, that they drew them, by hallooing and answering, from one hill to another, and from one wood to another, till they not only heartily tired them, but left them where they were very sure they could not reach back to the boat before it was dark; and indeed they were heartily tired themselves also by the time they came back to us.

We had nothing now to do but to watch for them in the dark, and so to fall upon them, to make sure work with them.

It was several hours after Friday came back to me, before they came back to their boat; and we could hear the foremost of them, long before they came quite up, calling to those behind to come along, and could also hear them answer, and complain how lame and tired they were, and not being able to come any faster, which was very welcome news to us.

At length they came up to the boat; but it is impossible to express their confusion, when they found the boat fast aground in the creek, the tide ebbed out, and their two men gone; we could hear them call to each other in a most lamentable manner, telling one another they were got into an enchanted island; that either there were inhabitants in it, and they should all be murdered; or else there were devils or spirits in it, and they should be all carried away and devoured.

They hallooed again, and called their two comrades by their names a great many times, but no answer. After some time, we could see them, by the little light there was, run about, wringing their hands, like men in despair; and that sometimes they would go and sit down in the boat to rest themselves, then come ashore and walk about again, and so the same thing over again.

My men would fain have had me given them leave to fall upon them at once in the dark; but I was willing to take them at some advantage, so to spare them, and kill as few of them as I could; and especially I was unwilling to hazard the killing any of our men, knowing the other

other were very well armed: I resolved to wait to see if they did not separate; and therefore, to make sure of them, I drew my ambuscade nearer; and ordered Friday and the captain to creep upon their hands and feet, as close to the ground as they could, that they might not be discovered, and get as near them as they could possibly, before they offered to fire.

They had not been long in that posture, when the boatswain, who was the principal ringleader of the mutiny, and had now shewn himself the most dejected and dispirited of all the rest, came walking towards them with two more of their crew; the captain was so eager, at having the principal rogue so much in his power, that he could hardly have patience to let him come so near as to be sure of him: for they only heard his tongue before: but when they came nearer, the captain and Friday, starting upon their feet, let fly at them.

The boatswain was killed upon the spot; the next man was shot in the body, and fell just by him, though he did not die till an hour or two after, and the third ran for it.

At the noise of the fire, I immediately advanced with my whole army, which was now eight men, viz. myself generalissimo; Friday my lieutenant-general; the captain and his two men; and the three prisoners of war, whom he had trusted with arms.

We came upon them indeed in the dark, so that they could not see our number; and I made the man they had left in the boat, who was now one of us, to call them by name, to try if I could bring them to a parley, and so might perhaps reduce them to terms; which fell out just as we desired: for indeed it was easy to think, as their condition then was, they would be very willing to capitulate: he, therefore, called out as loud as he could, to one of them, 'Tom Smith, Tom Smith!' Tom Smith answered immediately, 'Who's that?' 'Robinson?' For it seems he knew his voice. The other answered, 'Ay, ay; for God's sake, Tom Smith, throw down your arms, and yield, or you are all dead men this moment.'

'Who

‘ Who must we yield to ? Where are they ? ’ says Smith again. ‘ Here they are, ’ says he ; ‘ here is our captain and fifty men with him, have been hunting you these two hours ; the boatwain is killed, Will Fry, is wounded, and I am a prisoner ; and if you do not yield, you are all lost. ’

‘ Will they give us quarter then ? ’ says Tom Smith, ‘ and we will yield. ’ — ‘ I’ll go and ask, if you promise to yield, ’ says Robinson. So he asked the captain, and the captain himself then called out — ‘ You, Smith, you know my voice ; if you lay down your arms immediately and submit, you shall have your lives, all but Will Atkins. ’

Upon this Will Atkins cried out, ‘ for God’s sake, captain, give me quarter : What have I done ? They have been all as bad as I ! ’ which, by the way was not true neither ; for it seems this Will Atkins was the first man that laid hold of the captain, when they first mutinied, and used him barbarously in tying his hands, and using the most horrid language. However, the captain told him that he must lay down his arms at discretion, and trust to the governor’s mercy ; by which he meant me, for they all called me governor.

In a word, they all laid down their arms, and begged their lives ; and I sent the man that had parleyed with them, and two more, who bound them all ; and then my great army of fifty men, which, particularly with those three, were all but eight, came up and siezed upon them all, and upon their boat, only that I kept myself and one more out of sight, for reasons of state.

Our next business was to repair the boat, and to think of seizing the ship ; and as for the captain, now he had leisure to parley with them, he expostulated with them upon the villainy of their practices with him, and at length upon the farther wickedness of their design ; and how certainly it must bring them to misery and distress in the end, and perhaps to the gallows.

They all appeared very penitent, and begged hard for their lives. As for that, he told them they were none

of his prisoners, but the commander's of the island; that they thought they had set him on shore in a barren, uninhabited island; but it had pleased God so to direct them, that the island was inhabited, and that the governor was an Englishman; that he might hang them all there if he pleased; but as he had given them all quarter, he supposed he would send them to England, to be dealt with there, as justice required, except Atkins, whom he was commanded by the governor to advise to prepare for death, for that he would be hanged in the morning.

Though this was all a fiction of his own, yet it had its desired effect. Atkins fell upon his knees to beg the captain to intercede with the governor for his life; and all the rest begged of him, for God's sake, that they might not be sent to England.

It now occurred to me, that the time of our deliverance was come, and that it would be a most easy thing to bring these fellows in, to be hearty in getting possession of the ship; so I retired in the dark from them, that they might not see what kind of a governor they had, and called the captain to me. When I called, as at a good distance, one of the men was ordered to speak again, and say to the captain—"Captain, the commander calls for you:" and presently the captain replied—"Tell his excellency I am just coming." This more perfectly amused them; and they all believed, that the commander was just by with his fifty men.

Upon the captain's coming to me, I told him my project for seizing the ship, which he liked wonderfully well; and resolved to put it in execution the next morning.

But, in order to execute it with more art, and to be secure of success, I told him we must divide the prisoners, and that he should go and take Atkins, and two more of the worst of them, and send them pinioned to the cave where the others lay. This was committed to Friday, and the two men who came on shore with the captain.

They conveyed them to the cave, as to a prison; and  
It



it was indeed a dismal place, especially to men in their condition.

The other I ordered to my bower, as I called it, of which I have given a full description: and as it was fenced in, and they pinioned, the place was secure enough, considering they were upon their behaviour.

To these in the morning I sent the captain, who was to enter into a parley with them; in a word, to try them, and tell me whether he thought they might be trusted or not to go on board and surprize the ship. He talked to them of the injury done him, of the condition they were brought to; and that though the governor had given them quarter for their lives, as to the present action, yet that if they were sent to England, they would all be hanged in chains to be sure; but that if they would join in such an attempt as to recover the ship, he would have the governor's engagement for their pardon.

Any one may guess how readily such a proposal would be accepted by men in their condition; they fell down on their knees to the captain, and promised, with the deepest imprecations, that they would be faithful to him to the last drop, and that they should owe their lives to him, and would go with him all over the world; that they would own him for a father to them as long as they lived.

“ Well,” says the captain, “ I must go and tell the governor what you say, and see what I can do to bring him to consent to it.” So he brought me an account of the temper he found them in; and that he verily believed they would be faithful.

However, that we might be very secure, I told him he should go back again, and chuse out five of them, and tell them, that they should see that they did not want men; but he would take out those five to be his assistants, and that the governor would keep the other two, and the three that were sent prisoners to the castle, (my cave) as hostages, for the fidelity of those five: and that if they

proved unfaithful in the execution, the five hostages should be hanged in chains alive upon the shore.

This looked severe, and convinced them that the governor was in earnest; however, they had no way left them but to accept it; and it was now the business of the prisoners, as much as of the captain, to persuade the other five to do their duty.

Our strength was now thus ordered for the expedition.

1. The captain, his mate, and passenger. 2. Then the two prisoners of the first gang, to whom, having their characters from the captain, I had given their liberty, and trusted them with arms. 3. The other two, whom I kept till now in my bower pinioned; but, upon the captain's motion, had released. 4. These five released at last. So that they were twelve in all, besides five we kept prisoners in the cave for hostages.

I asked the captain if he was willing to venture with these hands on board the ship; for, as for me and my man Friday, I did not think it was proper for us to stir, having seven men left behind; and it was employment enough for us to keep them asunder, and supply them with victuals.

As to the five in the cave, I resolved to keep them fast; but Friday went twice a-day to them, to supply them with necessaries; and I made the other two carry provisions to a certain distance, where Friday was to take it.

When I shewed myself to the two hostages, it was with the captain, who told them, I was the person, the governor had ordered to look after them, and that it was the governor's pleasure they should not stir any where but by my direction; that if they did, they should be fetched into the castle, and be laid in irons; so that as we never suffered them to see me as governor, so I now appeared as another person, and spoke of the governor, the garrison, the castle, and the like, upon all occasions.

The captain now had no difficulty before him, but to furnish his two boats, stop the breach of one, and man them,

them. He made his passenger captain of one, with four other men; and himself, his mate, and five more, went in the other; and they contrived their business very well; for they came up to the ship about midnight. As soon as they came within call of the ship, he made Robinson hail them, and tell them he had brought off the men and the boat, but that it was a long time before they had found them; and the like: holding them in chat, till they came to the ship's side; when the captain and the mate entering first with their arms, immediately knocked down the second mate and carpenter with the butt-end of their musquets, being very faithfully seconded by their men; they secured all the rest that were upon the main and quarter-decks, and began to fasten the hatches, to keep them down who were below, when the other boat, and their men, entering at the fore-chains, secured the fore-castle of the ship, and the skuttle which went down into the cook-room, making three men they found there prisoners.

When this was done, and all safe upon the deck, the captain ordered the mate with three men to break into the round-house, where the new rebel captain lay, and having taken the alarm, was gotten up, and with two men and a boy, had gotten fire-arms in their hands; and when the mate with a crow split open the door, the new captain and his men fired boldly among them, and wounded the mate with a musquet-ball, which broke his arm, and wounded two more of the men, but killed nobody.

The mate calling for help, rushed, however, into the round-house, wounded as he was, and with his pistol shot the new captain through the head, the bullets entering at his mouth, and came out again behind one of his ears; so that he never spoke a word; upon which the rest yielded, and the ship was taken effectually, without any more lives lost.

As soon as the ship was thus secured, the captain ordered seven guns to be fired, which was the signal agreed upon with me, to give me notice of his success; which

you may be sure I was very glad to hear, having sat watching upon the shore for it till near two of the clock in the morning.

Having thus heard the signal plainly, I laid me down; and it having been a day of great fatigue to me, I slept very sound, till I was something surprized with the noise of a gun; and presently starting up, I heard a man call me by the name of "Governor! Governor!" and presently I knew the captain's voice; when climbing up to the top of the hill, there he stood, and pointing to the ship, he embraced me in his arms. "My dear friend and deliverer," says he, "there's your ship, for she is all yours, and so are we, and all that belong to her." I cast my eyes to the ship, and there she rode a little more than half a mile of the shore; for they had weighed her anchor as soon as they were masters of her; and the weather being fair, had brought her to an anchor just against the mouth of a little creek; and the tide being up, the captain had brought the pinnace in near the place where I first landed my rafts, and so landed just at my door.

I was, at first, ready to sink down with the surprize; for I saw my deliverance indeed visibly put into my hands, all things easy, and a large ship just ready to carry me away whither I pleased to go. At first, for some time, I was not able to answer one word; but as he had taken me in his arms, I held fast by him, or I should have fallen to the ground.

He perceived the surprize, and immediately took a bottle out of his pocket, and gave me a dram of cordial, which he had brought on purpose for me. After I had drank it, I sat down upon the ground; and though it brought me to myself, yet it was a good while before I could speak a word to him.

All this time the poor man was in as great an extasy as I, only not under any surprize as I was; and he said a thousand kind tender things to me, to compose and bring me to myself; but such was the flood of joy in my breast, that it put all my spirits into confusion: at last it



broke into tears, and in a little while after I recovered my speech.

Then I took my turn, and embraced him as my deliverer; and we rejoiced together. I told him I looked upon him as a man sent from Heaven to deliver me, and that the whole transaction seemed to be a chain of wonders; that such things as these were the testimonies we had of a secret hand of Providence governing the world, and an evidence, that the eyes of an Infinite Power could search into the remotest corner of the world, and send help to the miserable whenever he pleased.

I forgot not to lift up my heart in thankfulness to Heaven: and what heart could forbear to bless Him, who had not only in a miraculous manner provided for one in such a wilderness, and in such a desolate condition, but from whom every deliverance must always be acknowledged to proceed!

When we had talked some time, the captain told me, he had brought me some little refreshments, such as the ship afforded, and such as the wretches, who had been so long his masters, had not plundered him of. Upon this he called aloud to the boat, and bid his men bring the things ashore that were for the governor; and indeed it was a present, as if I had been one, not that was to be carried along with them, but as if I had been to dwell upon the island still, and they were to go without me.

First, he had brought me a case of bottles full of excellent cordial waters, six large bottles of Madeira wine, (the bottles held two quarts a-piece;) two pounds of excellent tobacco, twelve good pieces of the ship's beef, and six pieces of pork with a bag of peas, and about an hundred weight of biscuit.

He brought me also a box of sugar, a box of flour, a bag full of lemons, and two bottles of lime-juice; and abundance of other things; but besides these, and what was a thousand times more useful to me, he brought me six clean new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings,

ings, and a very good suit of cloathes of his own, which had been worn but very little; in a word, he cloathed me from head to foot.

It was a very kind and agreeable present, as any one may imagine, to one in my circumstances; but never was any thing in the world of that kind so unpleasant, awkward, and uneasy, as it was to me to wear such cloaths at their first putting on.

After these ceremonies were past, and after all these good things were brought into my little apartment, we began to consult what was to be done with the prisoners we had; for it was worth considering whether we might venture to take them away with us or no, especially two of them, whom we knew to be incorrigible and refractory to the last degree; and the captain said, he knew they were such rogues, that there was no obliging them; and if he did carry them away, it must be in irons, as malefactors, to be delivered over to justice at the first English colony he could come at. And I found that the captain himself was very anxious about it.

Upon this, I told him, that if he desired it, I durst undertake to bring the two men he spoke of, to make it their own request that he should leave them upon the island. "I should be very glad of that," says the captain, "with all my heart."

"Well," said I, "I will send for them, and talk with them for you." So I caused Friday and the two hostages, for they were now discharged, their comrades having performed their promise; I say, I caused them to go to the cave, and bring up the five men, pinioned as they were, to the bower, and keep them there till I came.

After some time, I went thither dressed in my new habit; and now I was called governor again. Being all met, and the captain with me, I caused the men to be brought before me, when I told them I had had a full account of their villainous behaviour to the captain, and how they had run away with the ship, and were preparing to commit farther robberies; but that Providence

had suffered them to be ensnared in their own way, and that they were fallen into the pit which they had digged for others.

I let them know, that by my direction the ship had been seized, that she lay now in the road, and they might see bye and bye, that their new captain had received the reward of his villainy, for that they might see him hanging at the yard-arm.

That as to them, I wanted to know what they had to say, why I should not execute them as pirates taken in the fact, as by my commission they could not doubt I had authority to do.

One of them answered in the name of the rest, that they had nothing to say but this, that when they were taken, the captain promised them their lives, and they humbly implored my mercy. But I told them, I knew not what mercy to shew them; for, as for myself, I had resolved to quit the island with all my men, and had taken passage with the captain to go for England: and as for the captain, he could not carry them to England, other than as prisoners in irons, to be tried for mutiny, and running away with the ship; the consequence of which, they must needs know, would be the gallows; so that I could not tell which was best for them, unless they had a mind to take their fate in the island; if they desired that, I did not care, as I had liberty to leave it: I had some inclination to give them their lives, if they thought they could shift on shore. They seemed very thankful for it; said they would much rather venture to stay there, than to be carried to England to be hanged; so I left them on that issue.

However, the captain seemed to make some difficulty of it, as if he durst not leave them there: upon this I seemed a little angry with the captain, and told him, that they were my prisoners, not his; and that seeing I had offered so much favour, I would be as good as my word; and that if he did not think fit to consent to it, I would set them at liberty as I found them; and if he did not like that, he might take them again, if he could catch them.

Upon

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Upon this they appeared very thankful, and I accordingly set them at liberty, and bade them retire into the woods to the place whence they came, and I would leave them some fire-arms, some ammunition, and some directions how they should live very well, if they thought fit.

Upon this, I prepared to go on board the ship; but told the captain, that I would stay that night to prepare my things, and desired him to go on board in the mean time, and keep all right in the ship, and send the boat on shore the next day for me; ordering him in the mean time to cause the new captain who was killed, to be hanged at the yard-arm, that these men might see him.

When the captain was gone, I sent for the men up to my apartment, and entered seriously into discourse with them of their circumstances: I told them, I thought they had made a right choice; that if the captain carried them away, they would certainly be hanged. I shewed them their captain hanging at the yard-arm of the ship, and told them they had nothing less to expect.

When they had all declared their willingness to stay, I then told them I would let them into the story of my living there, and put them into the way of making it easy to them; accordingly I gave them the whole history of the place, and of my coming to it; shewed them my fortifications, the way I made my bread, planted my corn, cured my grapes; and, in a word, all that was necessary to make them easy; I told them the story also of the sixteen Spaniards that were to be expected; for whom I left a letter, and made them promise to treat them in common with themselves.

I left them my fire-arms; viz. five muskets, three fowling-pieces, and three swords. I had about a barrel of powder left, for after the first year or two I used but little, and wasted none. I gave them a description of the way I managed the goats, and directions to milk and fatten them, to make both butter and cheese.

In a word, I gave them every part of my own story; and



and told them, I would prevail with the captain to leave them two barrels of gun-powder more, and some garden seed which I told them I would have been very glad of; also I gave them the bag of peas which the captain had brought me to eat, and bade them be sure to sow and increase them.

Having done all this, I left them the next day, and went on board the ship. We prepared immediately to sail, but did not weigh that night. The next morning early, two of the five men came swimming to the ship's side, and, making a most lamentable complaint of the other three, begged to be taken into the ship, for God's sake, for they should be murdered; and begged the captain to take them on board, though he hanged them immediately.

Upon this the captain pretended to have no power without me; but after some difficulty, and after their solemn promises of amendment, they were taken on board, and were some time after soundly whipped and pickled; after which they proved very honest and quiet fellows.

Some time after this, I went with the boat on shore, the tide being up, with the things promised to the men, to which the captain, at my intercession, caused their chests and cloaths to be added; which they took, and were very thankful for: I also encouraged them, by telling them, that if it lay in my way to send a vessel to take them in, I would not forget them.

When I took leave of this island, I carried on board, for reliques, the great goat's-skin cap I had made, my umbrella, and one of my parrots; also I forgot not to take the money I formerly mentioned, which had lain by me so long useless, that it was grown rusty, or tarnished, and could hardly pass for silver, till it had been a little rubbed and handled; and also the money I found in the wreck of the Spanish ship.

And thus I left the island, the nineteenth of December, as I found by the ship's account, in the year 1686, after I had been upon it eight-and-twenty years, two months,

months, and nineteen days; being delivered from the second captivity the same day of the month that I first made my escape in the Barco-longo, from among the Moors of Sallee.

In this vessel, after a long voyage, I arrived in England the eleventh of June, in the year 1687, having been thirty and five years absent.

When I arrived in England, I was as perfect a stranger to all the world, as if I had never been known there; my benefactor, and faithful steward, whom I had left in trust with my money, was alive, but had had great misfortunes in the world, was become a widow the second time, and very low in circumstances. I made her easy as to what she owed me, assuring her, I would give her no trouble; but, on the contrary, in gratitude to her former care and faithfulness to me, I relieved her as my little stock would afford, which at that time would, indeed, allow me to do but little for her; but I assured her I would never forget her former kindness to me; nor did I forget her, when I had sufficient to help her, as shall be observed in its place.

I went down afterwards into Yorkshire; but my father was dead, and my mother and all the family extinct; except that I found two sisters, and two of the children of one of my brothers; and as I had been long ago given over for dead, there had been no provision made for me; so that, in a word, I found nothing to relieve or assist me; and that little money I had, would not do much for me as to settling in the world.

I met with one piece of gratitude, indeed, which I did not expect; and this was, that the master of the ship, whom I had so happily delivered, and by the same means saved the ship and cargo, having given a very favourable account to the owners, of the manner in which I had saved the lives of the men and the ship, they invited me to meet them, and some other merchants concerned, and all together made me a very handsome compliment upon that subject, and a present of almost two hundred pounds sterling.

But after making several reflections upon the circumstances of my life, and how little way this would go toward settling me in the world, I resolved to go to Lisbon, and see if I might not come by some information of the state of my plantation in the Brazils, and what was become of my partner, who I had reason to suppose had some years given me over for dead.

With this view I took shipping for Lisbon, where I arrived in April following; my man Friday accompanying me very honestly in all these ramblings, and proving a most faithful servant on all occasions.

When I arrived at Lisbon, I found out by enquiry, and to my particular satisfaction, my old friend the captain of the ship who first took me up at sea, off the shore of Africa; he was now grown old, and had left off the sea, having put his son, who was far from a young man, into his ship; and who still used the Brazil trade. The old man did not know me; and, indeed, I hardly knew him; but I soon brought myself to his remembrance, when I told him who I was.

After some passionate expressions of our old acquaintance, I enquired, you may be sure, after my plantation, and my partner; the old man told me, he had not been in the Brazils for about nine years; but that he could assure me, that when he came away, my partner was living, but the trustees, whom I had joined with him to take cognizance of my part, were both dead; that, however, he believed that I would have a very good account of the improvement of the plantation; for that, upon the general belief of my being cast away and drowned, my trustees had given in the account of the produce of my part of the plantation to the Procurator Fiscal; who had appropriated it, in case I never came to claim it, one third to the king, and two thirds to the monastery of St. Augustine, to be expended for the benefit of the poor, and for the conversion of the Indians to the Catholic faith; but that if I appeared, or any one for me, to claim the inheritance, it would be restored; only that the improvement, or annual production, being

distributed to charitable uses, could not be restored; but he assured me, that the steward of the king's revenue, (from lands) and the providore, or steward of the monastery, had taken great care all along, that the incumbent, that is to say, my partner, gave every year a faithful account of the produce, of which they received duly my moiety.

I asked him, if he knew to what height of improvement he had brought the plantation; and whether he thought it might be worth looking after; or whether, on my going thither, I should meet with no obstruction to my possessing my just right in the moiety.

He told me, he could not tell exactly to what degree the plantation was improved; but this he knew, that my partner was grown exceeding rich upon the enjoying but one half of it; and that, to the best of his remembrance, he had heard, that the king's third of my part, which was, it seems, granted away to some other monastery, or religious house, amounted to above two hundred moidores a year; that, as to my being restored to a quiet possession of it, there was no question to be made of that, my partner being alive to witness my title, and my name being also enrolled in the register of the country. Also he told me, that the survivors of my two trustees were very fair, honest people, and very wealthy; and he believed I would not want their assistance for putting me in possession, but would find a very considerable sum of money in their hands, for my account, being the produce of the farm while their fathers held the trust, and before it was given up, as above, which, as he remembered, was about twelve years.

I shewed myself a little concerned and uneasy at this account, and enquired of the old captain, how it came to pass, that the trustees should thus dispose of my effects; when he knew that I had made my will, and had made him, the Portugueze captain, my universal heir, &c.

He told me, that was true; but that, as there was



no proof of my being dead, he could not act as executor, until some certain account should come of my death, and that, besides, he was not willing to intermeddle with a thing so remote; that it was true, he had registered my will, and put in his claim; and could he have given any account of my being dead or alive, he would have acted by procuration, and taken possession of the ingenio, (so they called the sugar-house) and had given his son, who was now at the Brazils, orders to do it.

"But," says the old man, "I have one piece of news to tell you; which, perhaps, may not be so acceptable to you as the rest; and that is, that believing you were lost, and all the world believing so also, your partner and trustees did offer to account to me in your name, for six or eight of the first years profits, which I received; but their being at that time great disbursements for increasing the works, building an ingenio, and buying slaves, it did not amount to near so much as afterwards it produced. However," says the old man, "I shall give you a true account of what I have received in all, and how I have disposed of it."

After a few days farther conference with this ancient friend, he brought me an account of the six first years income of my plantation, signed by my partner, and the merchant's trustees, being always delivered in goods; viz. tobacco in rolls, and sugar in chests, besides, rum, melasses, &c. which is the consequence of a sugar-work; and I found by this account, that every year the income considerably increased; but the disbursement being large, the sum at first was small; however, the old man let me see, that he was debtor to me four hundred and seventy moidores of gold, besides sixty chests of sugar, and fifteen double rolls of tobacco, which were lost in his ship, he having been shipwrecked coming home to Lisbon, about eleven years after my leaving the place.

The good man then began to complain of his misfortunes,

tunes, and how he had been obliged to make use of my money to recover his losses, and buy him a share in a new ship. "However, my old friend," says he, "you shall not want a supply in your necessity; and as soon as my son returns, you shall be fully satisfied."

Upon this he took out an old pouch, and gave me two hundred Portugal moidores in gold; and taking the writings of his title to the ship which his son was gone to the Brazils in, of which he was a quarter-part owner, and his son another, he put them both in my hands for security of the rest.

I was too much moved with the honesty and kindness of the poor man, to be able to bear this; and remembering what he had done for me; how he had taken me up at sea, and how generously he had used me on all occasions, and particularly, how sincere a friend he was to me, I could hardly refrain weeping at what he said: I therefore first asked him, if his circumstances admitted him to spare so much money at that time, and if it would not straiten him. He told me he could not say but it might straiten him a little; but, however, it was my money, and I might want it more than he.

Every thing the good man said was full of affection, and I could hardly refrain from tears while he spoke. In short, I took one hundred of the moidores, and called for a pen and ink to give him a receipt for them; then I returned him the rest, and told him, if ever I had possession of the plantation, I would return the other to him also, as indeed I afterwards did; and that, as to the bill of sale of his part in his son's ship, I would not take it by any means; but that if I wanted the money, I found he was honest enough to pay me; and if I did not, but came to receive what he gave me reason to expect, I would never have a penny more from him.

When this was passed, the old man began to ask me if he should put me in a method to make my claim to the plantation. I told him, I thought to go over to it myself: he said I might do so if I pleased; but that if I did

did not, there were ways enough to secure my right, and immediately appropriate the profits to my use: and as there were ships in the river of Lisbon, just ready to go away to Brazil, he made me enter my name in a public register, with his affidavit, affirming, upon oath that I was alive, and that I was the same person who took up the land for planting the said plantation at first.

This being regularly attested by a notary, and a procuration affixed, he directed me to send it with a letter of his writing, to a merchant of his acquaintance at the place; and then proposed my staying with him till an account came of the return.

Never was any thing more honourable than the proceedings upon this procuration; for in less than seven months I received a large packet from the survivors of my trustees, the merchants, for whose account I went to sea, in which were the following particular letters and papers inclosed.

First, There was the account current of the produce of my farm, or plantation, from the year when their fathers had balanced with my old Portugal captain, being for six years; the balance appeared to be 1174 moidores in my favour.

Secondly, There was the account of four years more while they kept the effects in their hands, before the government claimed the administration, as being the effects of a person not to be found, which they call *civil death*; and the balance of this, the value of the plantation, increasing, amounted to cruizadoes which made three thousand two hundred and forty one moidores.

Thirdly, There was the prior of the Augustines account, who had received the profits for above fourteen years; but not being able to account for what was disposed to the hospital, very honestly declared he had 872 moidores not distributed, which he acknowledged to my account. As to the king's part, that refunded nothing.

There was also a letter of my partner's, congratulating me very affectionately upon my being alive; giving

me an account how the estate was improved, and what it produced a year, with a particular of the number of squares or acres it contained; how planted; how many slaves there were upon it; and making two and twenty crosses for blessings, told me, he had said so many Ave Maria's to thank the Blessed Virgin that I was alive; inviting me very passionately to come over and take possession of my own, and in the mean time to give him orders to whom he should deliver my effects, if I did not come myself; concluding with an hearty tender of his friendship, and that of his family; and sent me, as a present, seven fine leopards skins, which he had, it seems, received from Africa by some ship, which he had sent thither, and who, it seems, had made a better voyage than I. He sent me also five chests of excellent sweetmeats; and an hundred pieces of gold uncoined, not quite so large as moidores.

By the same fleet my two merchant-trustees shipped me one thousand two hundred chests of sugar, eight hundred rolls of tobacco, and the rest of the whole account in gold.

I might well say now, indeed, that the latter end of Job was better than the beginning. It is impossible to express the flutterings of my very heart, when I looked over these letters, and especially when I found all my wealth about me; for as the Brazil ships came all in fleets, the same ships which brought my letters, brought my goods; and the effects were safe in the Tagus before the letter came to my hands; in a word, I turned pale, and grew sick; and had not the old man run and fetched me a cordial, I believe the sudden surprize of joy had overset nature, and I had died upon the spot.

Nay, after that, I continued very ill, and was so some hours, till a physician being sent for, and something of the real cause of my illness being known, he ordered me to be let blood; after which I had relief, and grew well; but I verily believe, if it had not been eased by the vent given in that manner to the spirits, I should have died.

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I was now master all on a sudden, of above 50,000*l.* sterling in money, and had an estate, as I might well call it, in the Brazils, of above a thousand pounds a year, as sure as an estate of lands in England; and, in a word, I was in a condition which I scarce knew how to understand, or how to compose myself for the enjoyment of.

The first thing I did, was to recompense my original benefactor, my good old captain, who had been first charitable to me in my distress, kind to me in the beginning, and honest to me at the end. I shewed him all that was sent me: I told him that, next to the Providence of Heaven, which disposes all things, it was owing to him; and that it now lay in my power to reward him, which I would do an hundred-fold. So I first returned to him the hundred moidores I had received of him; then I sent for a notary, and caused him to draw up a general release or discharge for the four hundred and seventy moidores which he had acknowledged he owed me, in the fullest and firmest manner possible; after which, I caused a procuration to be drawn, empowering him to be my receiver of the annual profits of my plantation, and appointing my partner to account to him, and make the returns by the usual fleets to him in my name; and a clause in the end, being a grant of one hundred moidores a year to him during his life, out of the effects; and fifty moidores a year to his son after him, for his life. And thus I requited my old man.

I was now to consider which way to steer my course next, and what to do with the estate that Providence had thus put into my hands: and, indeed, I had more care upon my head now, than I had in my silent state of life in the island, where I wanted nothing but what I had, and had nothing but what I wanted: whereas, I had now a great charge upon me, and my business was how to secure it. I had never a cave to hide my money in, or a place where it might lie without lock or key, till it grew mouldy and tarnished before any body would meddle with it: on the contrary, I knew not where to put it, or whom to trust with it; my old patron, the captain,

captain, indeed, was honest, and that was the only refuge I had.

In the next place, my interest in the Brazils seemed to summon me thither; but now I could not tell how to think of going thither till I had settled my affairs, and left my effects in some safe hands behind me. At first, I thought of my old friend the widow, who I knew was honest, and would be just to me; but then she was in years, and but poor, and, for aught I knew, might be in debt; so that, in a word, I had no way but to go back to England myself, and take my effects with me.

I was some months, however, before I resolved upon this; and therefore, as I had rewarded the old captain fully, and to his satisfaction, who had been my former benefactor; so I began to think of my poor widow, whose husband had been my first benefactor, and she, while it was in her power, my faithful steward and instructor: so the first thing I did, I got a merchant in Lisbon to write to his correspondent in London, not only to pay a bill, but to go find her out, and carry her in money a hundred pounds from me, and to talk with her, and comfort her in her poverty, by telling her she should, if I lived, have a farther supply. At the same time I sent my two sisters in the country, each of them, a hundred pounds, they being, though not in want, yet not in very good circumstances; one having been married and left a widow, and the other having a husband not so kind to her as he should be.

But, among all my relations or acquaintances, I could not yet pitch upon one, to whom I durst commit the gross of my stock, that I might go away to the Brazils, and leave things safe behind me; and this greatly perplexed me.

I had once a mind to have gone to the Brazils, and have settled myself there; for I was, as it were, naturalized to the place; but I had some little scruple in my mind about religion, which insensibly drew me back, of which I shall say more presently. However, it was not religion that kept me from going thither for the present; and,

and, as I had made no scruple of being openly of the religion of the country, all the while I was among them, so neither did I yet; only that now and then having of late thought more of it than formerly, when I began to think of living and dying among them, I began to regret my having professed myself a Papist, and thought it might not be the best religion to die in.

But, as I have said, this was not the main thing that kept me from going to the Brazils, but that really I did not know with whom to leave my effects behind me; so I resolved at last to go to England with them, where, if I arrived, I concluded I should make some acquaintance, or find some relations, that would be faithful to me; and accordingly I determined to go for England with all my wealth.

In order to prepare things for my going home, I first (the Brazil fleet being just going away) resolved to give answers suitable to the just and faithful account of things I had from thence; and first to the Prior of St. Augustine I wrote a letter full of thanks for his just dealings, and the offer of the eight hundred and seventy two moidores, which were undisposed of, which I desired might be given, five hundred to the monastery, and three hundred and seventy-two to the poor, as the prior should direct, desiring the good *padre's* prayers for me, and the like.

I wrote next a letter of thanks to my trustees, with all the acknowledgment that so much justice and honesty called for. As for sending them any present, they were far above having occasion for it.

Lastly, I wrote to my partner, acknowledging his industry in improving the plantation, and his integrity in increasing the stock of the works, giving him instructions for his future government of my part, according to the powers I had left with my old patron, to whom I desired him to send whatever became due to me, till he should hear from me more particularly; assuring him that it was my intention, not only to come to him, but to settle myself there for the remainder of my life. To

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this I added a very handsome present of some Italian silks for his wife and two daughters, for such the captain's son informed me he had; with two pieces of fine English broad cloth, the best I could get in Lisbon, five pieces of black baize, and some Flanders lace of considerable value.

Having thus settled my affairs, sold my cargo, and turned all my effects into good bills of exchange, my next difficulty was, which way to go to England. I had been accustomed enough to the sea, and yet I had a strange aversion to go to England by sea at that time; and though I could give no reason for it, yet the difficulty increased upon me so much, that though I had once shipped my baggage in order to go, yet I altered my mind, and that not once, but two or three times.

It is true, I had been very unfortunate by sea, and this might be one of the reasons; but let no man slight the strong impulses of his own thoughts in cases of such moment. Two of the ships which I had singled out to go in; I mean, more particularly singled out than any other; that is to say, so as in one of them to put my things on board, and in the other to have agreed with the captain; I say, two of these ships miscarried, viz. one was taken by the Algerines, and the other was cast away on the Start near Torbay, and all the people drowned except three; so that in either of those vessels I had been made miserable, and in which most, it is hard to say.

Having been thus harrassed in my thoughts, my old pilot, to whom I communicated every thing, pressed me earnestly not to go by sea; but either to go by land to the Groyne, and cross over the Bay of Biscay to Rochelle, from whence it was but any easy and safe journey by land to Paris, and so to Calais and Dover, or to go up to Madrid, and so all the way by land through France.

In a word, I was so prepossessed against my going by sea at all, except from Calais to Dover, that I resolved to travel all the way by land: which, as I was not in haste, and did not value the charge, was by much the pleasanter way; and to make it more so, my old captain



tain brought an English gentleman, the son of a merchant in Lisbon, who was willing to travel with me. After which we picked up two who were English merchants also, and two young Portuguese gentlemen, the last going to Paris only; so that we were in all six of us, and five servants, the two merchants, and the two Portuguese, contenting themselves with one servant between two, to save expences; and as for me, I got an English sailor to travel with me as a servant, besides my man Friday, who was too much a stranger to be capable of supplying the place of a servant upon the road.

In this manner I set out from Lisbon; and our company being all very well mounted and armed, we made a little troop, whereof they did me the honour to call me captain, as well because I was the oldest man, as because I had two servants, and indeed was the original of the whole journey.

As I have troubled you with none of my sea journals, so shall I trouble you with none of my land journal: but some adventures that happened to us in this tedious and difficult journey, I must not omit.

When we came to Madrid, we, being all strangers to Spain, were willing to stay some time to see the court of Spain, and what was worth observing; but it being the latter part of the summer, we hastened away, and set out from Madrid about the middle of October. But when we came to the edge of Navarre, we were alarmed at several towns on the way, with an account that so much snow had fallen on the French side of the mountains, that several travellers were obliged to come back to Pampeluna, after having attempted, at an extreme hazard, to pass on.

When we came to Pampeluna, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always used to an hot climate, and indeed to countries where we could scarce bear any cloaths on, the cold was unbearable; nor, indeed, was it more painful than it was surprising, to come but ten days before out of the Old Castile, where the weather was not only warm, but very hot; and immediately to  
feel

feel a wind from the Pyrenean mountains, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable, and to endanger benumbing and perishing of our fingers and toes was very strange.

Poor Friday was really frightened when he saw the mountains all covered with snow, and felt cold weather which he had never seen or felt before in his life.

To mend the matter, after we came to Pampeluna, it continued snowing with so much violence, and so long that the people said—‘ Winter was coming before its time ?’ and the roads which were difficult before, were now quite impassable: in a word, the snow lay in some places too thick for us to travel; and being not hard frozen, as is the case in Northern countries, there was no going without danger of being buried alive every step. We staid no less than twenty days at Pampeluna; when (seeing the winter coming on, and no likelihood of its being better, for it was the severest winter all over Europe, that had been known many years) I proposed that we should all go away to Fontarabia, and there take shipping for Bourdeaux, which was a very little voyage.

But while we were considering this, there came in four French gentlemen, who, having been stopped on the French side of the passes, as we were on the Spanish, had found out a guide, who, traversing the country near the head of Languedoc, had brought them over the mountains by such ways, that they were not much incommoded with the snow; and where they met with snow in any quantity, they said it was frozen hard enough to bear them and their horses.

We sent for this guide, who told us, he would undertake to carry us the same way, with no hazard from the snow, provided we were armed sufficiently to protect us from wild beasts; for, he said, upon these great snows, it was frequent for some wolves to shew themselves at the foot of the mountains, being made ravenous for want of food. We told him we were well enough prepared for such creatures as they were, if he would insure us from

from a kind of two-legged wolves, which we were told we were in most danger from, especially on the French side of the mountains.

He satisfied us that there was no danger of that kind in the way that we were to go: so we readily agreed to follow him; as did also twelve other gentlemen, with their servants, some French, some Spanish, who, as I said, had attempted to go, and were obliged to come back again.

Accordingly, we all set out from Pampeluna, with our guide, on the 15th of November; and, indeed, I was surprized, when, instead of going forward, he came directly back with us, on the same road that we came from Madrid, above twenty miles; when having passed two rivers, and come into the plain country, we found ourselves in a warm climate again, where the country was pleasant, and no snow to be seen; but, on a sudden, turning to the left, he approached the mountains another way; and though it is true, the hills and the precipices looked dreadfully, yet he made so many tours, such meanders, and led us by such winding ways, we insensibly passed the height of the mountains, without being much incumbered with the snow; and all on a sudden he shewed us the pleasant fruitful provinces of Languedoc and Gascoigne, all green and flourishing; though indeed, they were at a great distance, and we had some rough way to pass yet.

We were a little uneasy, however, when we found it snowed one whole day and a night, so fast, that we could not travel; but he bid us be easy, we should soon be past it all. We found, indeed, that we began to descend every day, and to come more north than before; and so, depending upon our guide, we went on.

It was about two hours before night, when our guide being something before us, and not just in sight, out rushed three monstrous wolves, and after them a bear, from an hollow way, adjoining to a thick wood; two of the wolves flew upon the guide; and had he been half a mile before us, he had been devoured indeed, before

fore we could have helped him. One of them fastened upon his horse, and the other attacked the man, with that violence, that he had not time, or not presence of mind enough, to draw his pistol, but hallooed and cried out to us most lustily; my man Friday being next to me, I bid him ride up, and see what was the matter. As soon as Friday came in sight of the man, he hallooed as loud as the other—‘O master! O master! But like a bold fellow, rode directly up to the man, and with his pistol shot the wolf that attacked him in the head.

It was happy for the poor man, that it was my man Friday; for he, having been used to that kind of creature in his country, had no fear upon him, but went up close to him, and shot him, as above; whereas any of us would have fired at a farther distance, and have perhaps, either missed the wolf, or endangered shooting the man.

But it was enough to have terrified a bolder man than I; and indeed it alarmed all our company, when, with the noise of Friday’s pistol, we heard on both sides the the dismallest howlings of wolves, and the noise redoubled by the echo of the mountains, that it was to us as if there had been a prodigious multitude of them; and perhaps, indeed, there was not so small a number as that we had no cause of apprehensions.

However, as Friday had killed this wolf, the other, that had fastened upon the horse, left him immediately and fled, having happily fastened upon his head, where the bosses of the bridle had stuck in his teeth, so that he had not done him much hurt: the man, indeed, was most hurt; for the raging creature had bit him twice, once on the arm, and the other time a little above his knee; and he was just as it were tumbling down by the disorder of the horse, when Friday came up and shot the wolf.

It is easy to suppose, that at the noise of Friday’s pistol, we all mended our pace, and rode up as fast as the way (which was very difficult) would give us leave, to see what was the matter: as soon as we came clear of  
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the trees, which blinded us before, we saw plainly what had been the case, and how Friday had disengaged the poor guide; though we did not presently discern what kind of creature it was he had killed.

But never was a fight managed so hardily, and in such a surprizing manner, as that which followed between Friday and the bear, which gave us all (though at first we were surprized and afraid for him) the greatest diversion imaginable. As the bear is a heavy clumsy creature, and does not gallop as the wolf does, which is swift and light, so he has two particular qualities, which generally are the rule of his actions: first, as to men, who are not his proper prey; I say, not his proper prey, though I cannot say what excessive hunger might do, which was now their case, the ground being all covered with snow; yet, as to men, he does not usually attempt them, unless they first attack him; on the contrary, if you meet him in the woods, though if you do not meddle with him, he won't meddle with you; yet, then, you must take care to be very civil to him, and give him the road; for he is a very nice gentleman, he won't go a step out of the way for a prince; nay, if you are really afraid, your best way is to look another way, and keep going on; for sometimes, if you stop and stand still, and look stedfastly at him, he takes it for an affront, but if you throw or toss any thing at him, and it hits him, though it were but a bit of stick as big as your finger, he takes it for an affront, and sets all other business aside to pursue his revenge; for he will have satisfaction in point of honour; and this is his first quality: the next is, that if he be once affronted, he will never leave you night or day, till he has his revenge, but follow at a good round rate till he overtakes you.

My man Friday had delivered our guide, and when we came up to him, he was helping him off from his horse; for the man was both hurt and frightened, and indeed the last more than the first; when, on a sudden, we spied the bear come out of the wood, and a mon-

strous one it was, the biggest by far that ever I saw. We were all a little surprized when we saw him; but when Friday saw him, it was easy to see joy and courage in the fellow's countenance: 'O! O! O! (says Friday, three times, pointing to him) O master, you give me te leave, me shakee te hand with him, me makee you good laugh.'

I was surprized to see the fellow so pleased. 'You fool you (said I) he will eat you up.'—'Eatee me up! eatee me up! (says Friday twice over again.) Me eatee him up; me makee you good laugh; you all stay here, me shew you good laugh.' So down he sits, and gets his boots off in a moment, and put on a pair of pumps, (as we call the flat shoes they wear) and which he had in his pocket, gives my other servant his horse, and with his gun, away he flew, swift like the wind.

The bear was walking softly on, and offered to meddle with nobody, till Friday, coming pretty near, calls to him, as if the bear could understand him. 'Hark ye, hark ye (says Friday) me speake wit you.' We followed at a distance; for now being come down to the Gascogne side of the mountains, we entered a vast great forest, where the country was plain, and pretty open, though many trees in it scattered here and there.

Friday, who had, as we say, the heels of the bear, came up with him quickly, and taking up a great stone and throwing at him, hit him just on the head; but it did him no more harm than if he had thrown it against a wall: but it answered Friday's end; for the rogue was so void of fear, that he did it purely to make the bear follow him, and shew us some laugh, as he called it.

As soon as the bear felt the stone, and saw him, he turned about, and came after him, taking devilish long strides, and shuffling along at a strange rate, so as would put a horse to a middling gallop; away ran Friday, taking his course as if he ran towards us for help; so we all resolved to fire at once upon the bear, and deliver my man; though I was angry at him heartily for bringing

bringing the bear back upon us, when he was going about his business another way; and especially I was angry that he had turned the bear upon us, and then run away; and I called out—‘You dog (said I) is this your making us laugh? Come away, and take your horse, that we may shoot the creature.’ He heard me, and cried out—‘No shoot, no shoot; stand still, you get much laugh!’ and as the nimble creature ran two feet for the bear’s one, he turned on a sudden, on one side of us, and seeing a great oak tree, fit for his purpose, he beckoned us to follow, and doubling his pace, he got nimbly up the tree, laying his gun down upon the ground, at about five or six yards from the bottom of the tree.

The bear soon came to the tree, and as we followed at a distance: the first thing he did was, to stop at the gun, which he smelt to, but let it lie, he then scrambled into the tree, climbing like a cat, though so monstrously heavy. I was amazed at the folly, as I thought it, of my man, and could not for my life see any thing to laugh at yet, till finding the bear had got up the tree, we all rode nearer to him.

When we came to the tree, there was Friday got out to the small part of a large limb of the tree, and the bear got about half way to him. As soon as the bear got out to that part where the limb of the tree was weaker—‘Ha, (says he to us) now you see me teachee the bear dance!’ So he falls a jumping and shaking the bough, at which the bear began to totter, but stood still, and looked behind him, to see how he should get back; then, indeed, we did laugh heartily. But Friday had not done with him by a great deal. When he saw him stand still, he called out to him again, as if he had supposed the bear could speak English—‘What, you come no farther? Pray you come farther!’ So he left jumping and shaking the bough; and the bear, just as if he understood what he said, did come a little farther; then he fell a jumping again, and the bear stopped again.

We thought now was a good time to knock him on the head, and called to Friday to stand still, and we would shoot the bear; but he cried out earnestly—‘O pray! O pray!, no shoot; me shoot by and then! (he would have said) by and by.’ However, to shorten the story, Friday danced so much, and the bear stood so ticklish, that we had laughing enough indeed, but still could not imagine what the fellow would do; for first we thought he depended upon shaking the bear off; and we found the bear was too cunning for that too; for he would not get out far enough to be thrown down, but clung fast with his great broad claws and feet, so that we could not imagine what would be the end of it and where the jest would be at last.

But Friday put us out of doubt quickly; for seeing the bear cling fast to the bough, and that he would not be persuaded to come any farther; ‘Well, well, (said Friday) you no come farther, me go, me go; you no come to me, me come to you.’ And upon this he went to the smallest end of the bough, where it might bend with his weight, and gently let himself down by it, sliding down the bough, till he came near enough to jump down on his feet, and away he ran to his gun, took it up, and stood still.

‘Well (said I to him) Friday, what will you do now? ‘Why don’t you shoot him?—No shoot, (says Friday) ‘no yet; me shoot now, me no kill: me stay, me give ‘you one more laugh.’ And indeed so he did, as you will see presently; for when the bear saw his enemy gone, he came back from the bough where he stood, but did it mighty leisurely, looking behind every step, and coming backward till he got into the body of the tree: then, with the same hinder end foremost, he came down the tree, grasping it with his claws, and moving one foot at a time, very leisurely; at this juncture, and just before he could set his hind feet upon the ground, Friday stepped close to him, clapped the muzzle of his piece into his ear, and shot him dead as a stone.

Then the rogue turned about, to see if we did not laugh;



laugh; and when he saw we were pleased by our looks, he fell a laughing himself very loud. 'So we kill bear in my country, (says Friday). So you kill them, (said I;) why, you have no guns.'—'No (says he) no guns, but shoot great much long arrow.'

This was, indeed, a good diversion to us; but we were still in a wild place, and our guide very much hurt, and what to do we hardly knew; the howling of the wolves ran much in my head; and, indeed, except the noise I once heard on the shore of Africa, of which I have said something already, I never heard any thing that filled me with so much horror.

These things, and the approach of night, called us off, or else, as Friday would have had us, we should certainly have taken the skin of this monstrous creature off, which was worth saving; but we had three leagues to go, and our guide hastened us; so we left him, and went forward on our journey.

The ground was still covered with snow, though not so deep and dangerous as on the mountains; and the ravenous creatures, as we heard afterwards, were come down into the forest, and plain country, pressed by hunger to seek for food, and had done a great deal of mischief in the villages where they surprized the country people, killed many of their sheep and horses, and some people too.

We had one dangerous place to pass, of which our guide told us, if there were any more wolves in the country, we should find them there; and this was a small plain, surrounded with woods on every side, and a long narrow defile or lane, which we were to pass to get through the wood, and then we should come to the village where we were to lodge.

It was within half an hour of sun-set when we entered the first wood, and a little after sun-set when we came into the plain. We met with nothing in the first wood, except that in a little plain within the wood, which was not above two furlongs over, we saw five great wolves cross the road, full speed one after another, as if they had been in chace of some prey, and had it in

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view; they took no notice of us, and were gone and out of sight in a few moments.

Upon this, our guide, who, by the way was a wretched faint-hearted fellow, bade us keep in a ready posture, for he believed there were more wolves a coming.

We kept our arms ready, and our eyes about us; but we saw no more wolves till we came through that wood, which was near half a league, and entered the plain. As soon as we came into the plain, we had occasion enough to look about us. The first object we met with, was a dead horse, that is to say, a poor horse, which the wolves had killed and at least a dozen of them at work; we could not say eating of him, but picking his bones rather, for they had eaten up all the flesh before.

We did not think fit to disturb them at their feast, neither did they take much notice of us. Friday would have let fly at them, but I would not suffer him by any means; for I found we were like to have more business upon our hands than we aware of. We were not half gone over the plain, but we began to hear the wolves howl in the wood, on our left, in a frightful manner; and presently after we saw about a hundred coming on directly towards us, all in a body, and most of them in a line, as regularly as an army drawn up by experienced officers. I scarce knew in what manner to receive them; but found, to draw ourselves in a close line, was the only way: so we formed in a moment; but that we might not have too much interval, I ordered, that only every other man should fire; and that the others, who had not fired, should stand ready to give them a second volley immediately, if they continued to advance upon us; and that then those who had fired at first, should not pretend to load their fusils again, but stand ready, with every one a pistol; for we were all armed with a fusil, and a pair of pistols each man; so we were, by this method, able to fire six volleys, half of us at a time. However, at present, we had no necessity; for, upon firing the first volley, the enemy made a full stop, being terrified, as well with the noise, as with the fire;

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four of them, being shot in the head, dropped; several others were wounded, and went bleeding off, as we could see by the snow. I found they stopped, but did not immediately retreat; whereupon, remembering that I had been told, that the fiercest creatures were terrified at the voice of a man, I caused all our company to halloo as loud as we could; and I found the notion not altogether mistaken; for, upon our shout, they began to retire, and turn about; then I ordered a second volley to be fired in their rear, which put them to the gallop, and away they went to the woods.

This gave us leisure to charge our pieces again; and that we might lose no time, we kept doing; but we had but little more than loaded our fuzils, and put ourselves into readiness, when we heard a terrible noise in the same wood on our left; only that it was farther on, ward the same way we were to go.

The night was now coming on, which made it the worse on our side; but the noise increasing, we could easily perceive that it was the howling and yelling of those hellish creatures; and, on a sudden, we perceived two or three troops of wolves, one on our left, one behind us, and one in our front; so that we seemed to be surrounded with them; however, as they did not fall upon us, we kept our way forward, as fast as we could make our horses go, which, the way being very rough was only a good trot; and in this manner we only came in view of the entrance of the wood, through which we were to pass, at the farther side of the plain; but we were greatly surprized, when coming near the lane, or pass, we saw a confused number of wolves standing just at the entrance.

On a sudden, at another opening of the wood, we heard the noise of a gun, and, looking that way, out rushed a horse, with a saddle and a bridle on him, flying like the wind, and sixteen or seventeen wolves after him, full speed; indeed the horse had the heels of them; but, as we supposed he could not hold it at that rate, we doubted not but they would get up with him at last, and no question but they did.

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Here we had a most horrible sight; for riding up to the entrance where the horse came out, we found the carcase of another horse, and of two men, devoured by these ravenous creatures, and one of the men was, no doubt, the same whom we heard fire the gun; for there lay a gun just by him fired off; but, as to the man, his head, and the upper part of his body, were eaten up.

This filled us with horror, and we knew not what course to take; but the creatures resolved us soon; for they gathered about us presently, in hopes of prey; and I verily believe there were three hundred of them. It happened, very much to our advantage, that at the entrance into the wood, but a little way from it, there lay some large trees, which had been cut down the summer before, and I suppose lay there for carriage. I drew my little troop in among these trees; and placing ourselves in a line behind one large tree, I advised them all to alight, and keeping that tree before us, for a breast-work, to stand in a triangle, or three fronts inclosing our horses in the centre.

We did so, and it was well we did; for never was a more furious charge than the creatures made upon us in this place: they came on us with a growling kind of a noise, and mounted the piece of timber, (which, as I said, was our breast-work) as if they were only rushing upon their prey; and this fury of theirs, it seems, was principally occasioned by their seeing our horses behind us, which was the prey they aimed at. I ordered our men to fire as before, every other man; and they took their aim so sure, that indeed they killed several of the wolves at the first volley; but there was a necessity to keep a continual firing, for they came forward like devils, those behind pushing on those before.

When we had fired our second volley of our fusils, we thought they stopped a little, and I hoped they would have gone off; but it was but a moment, for others came forward again; so we fired our volleys of our pistols; and I believe in these four firings we killed  
seventeen



or eighteen of them, and lamed twice as many; yet they came on again.

I was loth to spend our last shot too hastily; so I called my servant, not my man Friday, for he was better employed; for, with the greatest dexterity imaginable, he charged my fusil, and his own, while we were engaged; but, as I said, I called my other man, and giving him a horn of powder, I bade him lay a train all along the piece of timber, and let it be a large train: he did so, and had but just time to get away, when the wolves came up upon it; when I, snapping an uncharged pistol close to the powder, set it on fire; and those that were upon the timber were scorched with it, and six or seven of them fell, or rather jumped in among us, with the force and fright of the fire; we dispatched these in an instant, and the rest were so frightened with the light, which the night, for now it was very near dark, made more terrible, that they drew back a little.

Upon this I ordered our last pistols to be fired off in one volley, and after that we gave a shout: upon this the wolves turned tail, and we sallied immediately upon near twenty lame ones, which we found struggling on the ground, and fell cutting them with our swords; which answered our expectation, for the crying and howling they made were better understood by their fellows; so that they fled, and left us.

We had, first and last, killed about three-score of them; and had it been day-light, we had killed many more. The field of battle being thus cleared, we made forward again; for we had still near a league to go. We heard the ravenous creatures howl and yell in the woods as we went several times, and sometimes we fancied we saw some of them, but the snow dazzling our eyes, we were not certain: so in about an hour more, we came to the town, where we were to lodge, which we found in a terrible fright, and all in arms; for it seems, that the night before, the wolves and some bears had broken into that village, and put them in a terrible

terrible fright; and that they were obliged to keep guard night and day, but especially in the night, to preserve their cattle, and indeed their people.

The next morning our guide was so ill, and his limbs so swelled with the rankling of his two wounds, that he could go no farther; so we were obliged to take a new guide there, and go to Tholouse, where we found a warm climate, a fruitful pleasant country, and no snow, no wolves, or any thing like them; but when we told our story at Tholouse, they told us it was nothing but what was ordinary in the great forest at the foot of the mountains, especially when the snow lay on the ground: but they enquired much what kind of a guide we had gotten, that would venture to bring us that way in such a severe season; and told us, it was very fortunate we were not all devoured. When we told them in what manner we placed ourselves, and the horses in the middle, they blamed us exceedingly and told us, it was fifty to one but we had been all destroyed; for it was the sight of the horses that made the wolves so furious, seeing their prey; and that at other times they are really afraid of a gun; but they being excessive hungry, and raging on that account, the eagerness to come at the horses had made them senseless of danger; and that if we had not by the continued fire, and at last by the stratagem of the train of powder, mastered them, it had been great odds but that we had been torn to pieces; whereas, had we been content to have sat still on horse-back, and fired as horsemen, they would not have taken the horses so much for their own, when men were on their backs, as otherwise; and withal they told us, that at last, if we had stood all together, and left our horses, they would have been so eager to have devoured them, that we might have come off safe, especially having our fire arms in our hands, and being so many in number.

For my part, I was never so sensible of danger in my life; for seeing above three hundred devils come roaring and open-mouthed to devour us, and having no-  
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thing to shelter us or retreat to, I gave myself over for lost; and as it was I believe, I shall never care to cross those mountains again; I think I would much rather go a thousand leagues by sea, though I were sure to meet with a storm once a week.

I have nothing uncommon to take notice of, in my passage through France; nothing but what other travellers have given an account of with much more advantage than I can. I travelled from Tholouse to Paris, and without any considerable stay came to Calais, and landed safe at Dover the 14th of January, after having had a severe cold season to travel in.

I was now come to the centre of my travels, and had in a little time all my new discovered estate safe about me; the bills of exchange, which I brought with me, having been very currently paid.

My principal guide, and privy-counsellor, was my good ancient widow; who, in gratitude for the money I had sent her, thought no pains too much, or care too great, to employ for me; and I trusted her so entirely with every thing, that I was perfectly easy as to the security of my effects; and indeed I was very happy from my beginning, and now to the end, in the unspotted integrity of this good gentlewoman.

And now I began to think of leaving my effects with this woman, and setting out for Lisbon, and so to the Brazils; but a scruple came in the way, and that was religion: for as I had entertained some doubts about the Roman religion, even while I was abroad, especially in my state of solitude; so I knew there was no going to the Brazils for me, much less going to settle there, unless I resolved to embrace the Roman Catholic religion without any reserve; except, on the other hand, I resolved to be a sacrifice to my principles, be a martyr for religion, and die in the inquisition; so I resolved to stay at home, and if I could meet with the opportunity to dispose of my plantation.

To this purpose I wrote to my old friend at Lisbon, who in return gave me notice, that he could easily dis-

pose of it there: but that if I thought fit to give him leave to offer it in my name to the two merchants, the survivors of my trustees who lived in the Brazils, who must fully understand the value of it, who lived just upon the spot, and whom I knew to be very rich, so that he believed they would be fond of buying it; he did not doubt but I should make four or five thousand pieces of eight the more of it.

Accordingly I agreed, gave him orders to offer it to them, and he did so; and, in about eight months more, the ship being then returned, he sent me an account, that they had accepted the offer, and had remitted thirty three thousand pieces of eight to a correspondent of theirs at Lisbon, to pay for it.

In return, I signed the instrument of sale in the form which they sent from Lisbon, and sent it to my old man, who sent me the bills of exchange for thirty-two thousand eight hundred pieces of eight for the estate; reserving the payment of one hundred moidores a-year to him, the old man, during his life, and fifty moidores afterwards to his son for his life, which I had promised them; and which the plantation was to make good as a rent-charge.

And thus I have given the first part of a life of fortune and adventure, a life of Providence's chequer-work, and of a variety which the world will seldom be able to shew the like of; beginning foolishly, but closing much more happily than any part of it ever gave me leave so much as to hope for.

Any one would think, that in this state of complicated good fortune, I was past running any more hazards; and so, indeed I had been, if other circumstances had occurred; but I was inured to a wandering life, had no family, nor many relations; nor, however rich, had I contracted much acquaintance; and though I had sold my estate in the Brazils, yet I could not keep that country out of my head, and had a great mind to be upon the wing again; especially I could not resist the strong inclination I had to see my island, and to know  
if



if the poor Spaniards were in being there; and how the rogues I left there had used them.

My true friend, the widow earnestly dissuaded me from it; and so far prevailed with me, that almost for seven years she prevented my going abroad; during which time I took my two nephews, the children of one of my brothers, into my care; the eldest, having something of his own, I bred up as a gentleman, and gave him a settlement of some addition to his estate after my decease; the other I put out to a captain of a ship; and after five years, finding him a sensible, bold, enterprising young fellow; I put him into a good ship, and sent him to sea: and this young fellow afterwards drew me in, old as I was, to farther adventures myself.

In the mean time, I in part settled myself here: for first of all I married, and that not either to my disadvantage or dissatisfaction; and had three children, two sons and one daughter. But my wife dying, and my nephew coming home with good success from a voyage to Spain, my inclination to go abroad, and his importunity prevailed, and engaged me to go in his ship as a private trader to the East-Indies. This was in the year 1694.

In this voyage I visited my new colony in the island; saw my successors the Spaniards; had the whole story of their lives, and of the villains I left there: how at first they insulted the poor Spaniards; by what means they afterwards agreed, disagreed, united, separated, and how at last the Spaniards were obliged to use violence with them; how they were subjected to the Spaniards; how honestly the Spaniards used them; an history, if it were entered into, as full of variety and wonderful accidents as my own life; particularly also as to their battles with the Caribbeans, who landed several times upon the island, and as to the improvements they made upon the island itself; with an account of the manner in which they made an attempt upon the main land, and brought away eleven men and five women prisoners;

by which, at my coming, I found about twenty young children on the island.

Here I staid about twenty days; left them supplies of all necessary things, and particularly of arms, powder, shot, cloaths, tools, and two workmen, which I brought from England with me; viz. a carpenter, and a smith.

Besides this, I shared the land into parts with them, reserving to myself the property of the whole, but gave them such parts, respectively, as they agreed on; and having settled all things with them, and engaged them not to quit the place, I left them.

From thence I touched at the Brazils, from whence I sent a bark, which I bought there, with more people on the island; and in it, besides other supplies, I sent seven women, being such as I found proper for service, or for wives to such as would take them. As to the Englishmen, I promised to send them some women from England, with a good cargo of necessaries, if they would apply themselves to planting; which I afterwards could not perform. The fellows proved very honest and diligent after they were mastered, and had their properties set apart for them. I sent them also from the Brazils, five cows, (three of them being big with calf) some sheep, and some hogs; which, when I came again, were considerably encreased.

But all these things, with an account how three hundred Caribbeans came and invaded them, and ruined their plantations; and how they fought with that whole number twice, and were at first defeated and one of them killed; but at last a storm destroying their enemies canoes, they famished or destroyed almost all the rest, and renewed and recovered the possession of their plantation, and still lived upon the island. All these things, with some very surprizing incidents in some new adventures of my own, for ten years more, I may, perhaps give a farther account of hereafter.

That homely proverb, used on so many occasions in England, viz. 'That what is bred in the bone will

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'not go out of the flesh;' was never more verified than in the story of my life. Any one would think that after thirty five years affliction, and a variety of unhappy circumstances, which few men, if ever any, went through before, and after near seven years of peace and enjoyment in the fullness of all things; grown old, and when, if ever, it might be allowed me to have had experience of every state of middle life, and to know which was most adapted to make a man completely happy; I say after all this, any one would have thought, that the native propensity to rambling, which I gave an account of in my first setting out into the world, to have been so predominant in my thoughts, should be worn out, the volatile part be fully evacuated, or at least condensed, and I might at sixty-one years of age have been a little inclined to stay at home, and have done venturing life and fortune any more.

Nay, farther, the common motive of foreign adventures was taken away in me; for I had no fortune to make, I had nothing to seek. If I had gained ten thousand pounds, I had been no richer; for I had already sufficient for me and for those I had to leave it to, and that I had was visibly increasing; for having no great family, I could not spend the income of what I had, unless I would set up for an expensive way of living, such as a great family, servants, equipage, gaiety, and the like, which were things I had no notion of, or inclination to; so that I had nothing indeed to do, but to sit still, and fully enjoy what I had got, and see it increase daily upon my hands.

Yet all these things had no effect upon me, or at least not enough to resist the strong inclination I had to go abroad again, which hung about me like a chronical distemper; particularly, the desire of seeing my new plantation in the island, and the colony I left there, run in my head continually. I dreamed of it all night, and my imagination ran upon it all day; it was uppermost in all my thoughts, and my fancy worked so steadily and strongly upon it, that I talked of it in my sleep: in short,

nothing could remove it out of my mind. It even broke so violently into all my discourses, that it made my conversation tiresome; for I could talk of nothing else; all my discourse run into it, even to impertinence, and I saw it myself.

I have often heard persons of good judgment say, that all the stir people make in the world about ghosts and apparitions, is owing to the strength of imagination, and the powerful operation of fancy on their minds; that there is no such thing as a spirit appearing, or a ghost walking, and the like: that people's poring affectionately upon the past conversation of their deceased friends, so realizes itself to them, that they are capable of fancying upon some extraordinary circumstances, that they see them, talk to them, and are answered by them; when, in truth, there is nothing but shadow and vapour in the thing, and they really know nothing of the matter.

For my part, I know not to this hour, whether there are any such things as real apparitions, spectres, or walking of people after they are dead, or whether there is any thing in the stories they tell us of that kind, more than the product of vapours, sick minds, and wandering fancies: but this I know, that my imagination worked me up to such a height, and brought me into such excess of vapours, or what else I may call it, that I actually supposed myself oftentimes upon the spot, at my old castle behind the trees; saw my old Spaniard, Friday's father, and the reprobate sailors, whom I left upon the island; nay, I fancied I talked with them, and looked at them so steadily, though I was broad awake, as at persons just before me: and this I did till I often frightened myself with the images my fancy represented to me. One time in my sleep I had the villainy of the three pirate sailors so lively related to me, by the first Spaniard and Friday's father, that it was surprizing; they told me how they barbarously attempted to murder all the Spaniards; and that they set fire to the provisions they had laid up, on purpose to distress and starve them: things



things that I had never heard of, and that yet were all of them true in fact. And it was so warm in my imagination, and so realized to me, that to the hour I saw them, I could not be persuaded, but that it was, or would be true; also how I repented it, when the Spaniards complained to me; and how I brought them to justice, tried them before me, and ordered them all three to be hanged. What there was really in this, shall be seen in its place. For however I came to form such things in my dream, and what secret converse of spirits injected it, yet there was, I say, very much of it true; I own that this dream, had nothing in it literally and specifically true; but the general part was so true, the base and villainous behaviour of these three hardened rogues was such, and had been so much worse than all I can describe, that the dream had too much similitude of the fact; and as I would afterwards have punished them severely, so if I had hanged them all, I had been much in the right, and should have been justified both by the laws of God and man.

But to return to my story. In this kind of temper I had lived some years; I had no enjoyment of my life, no pleasant hours, no agreeable diversion, but what had something or other of this in it; so that my wife, who saw my mind so wholly bent upon it, told me very seriously one night, that she believed there was some secret powerful impulse of Providence upon me, which had determined me to go thither again; and that she found nothing hindered my going, but my being engaged to a wife and children. She told me, that it was true she could not think of parting with me; but as she was assured, that if she was dead it would be the first thing I would do; so as it seemed to her, that the thing was determined above, she would not be the only obstruction, for, if I thought fit, and resolved to go—Here she found me very intent upon her words; and that I looked very earnestly at her; so that it a little disordered her, and she stopped. I asked her why she did not go on, and say out what she was going to say. But I perceived her heart

heart was too full, and some tears stood in her eyes. 'Speak out, my dear, says I: 'are you willing I should go?'—'No,' says she very affectionately, 'I am far from willing! But if you are resolved to go,' says she, 'rather than I will be the only hindrance, I will go with you; for though I think it a preposterous thing for one of your years, and in your condition; yet if it must be,' said she again weeping, 'I won't leave you! for if it be of Heaven, you must do it, there is no resisting it; and if Heaven makes it your duty to go, he will also make it mine to go with you, or otherwise dispose of me, that I may not obstruct it.'

This affectionate behaviour of my wife brought me a little out of the vapours, and I began to consider what I was doing. I corrected my wandering fancy, and began to argue with myself sedately, what business I had, after three-score years, and after such a life of tedious sufferings and disasters, and closed in so happy and easy a manner; I say, what business had I to rush into new hazards, and put myself upon adventures, fit only for youth and poverty to run into?

With those thoughts, I considered my new engagements: that I had a wife, one child born, and my wife then great with child of another, that I had all the world could give me, and had no need to seek hazards for gain; that I was declining in years, and ought to think rather of leaving what I had gained, than of seeking to increase it; that as to what my wife had said of its being an impulse from Heaven, and that it should be my duty to go, I had no notion of that; so, after many of these cogitations, I struggled with the power of my imagination, reasoned myself out of it, as I believe people may always do in like cases if they will; and, in a word, I conquered it; composed myself with such arguments as occurred to my thoughts, and which my present condition furnished me plentifully with; and particularly, as the most effectual method, I resolved to divert myself with other things, and to en-

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gage in some business that might effectually prevent me from any more excursions of this kind; for I found the thoughts returned upon me chiefly when I was idle, had nothing to do, or any thing of moment immediately before me.

To this purpose I bought a little farm in the county of Bedford, and resolved to remove myself thither. I had a little convenient house upon it, and the land about it I found was capable of great improvement, and that it was many ways suited to my inclination, which delighted in cultivating, managing, planting, and improving of land; and particularly, being an inland county, I was removed from conversing with, and things relating to the remote parts of the world.

In a word, I went down to my farm, settled my family, bought me ploughs, harrows, a cart, waggon, horses, cows, sheep; and, setting seriously to work, became in one half year a mere country gentleman; my thoughts were entirely taken up in managing my servants, cultivating the ground, inclosing, planting, &c. and I lived, as I thought; the most agreeable life that nature was capable of directing, or that a man always bred to misfortunes was capable of retreating to.

I farmed upon my own land, I had no rent to pay, was limited by no articles; I could pull up, or cut down, as I pleased. What I planted was for myself; and what I improved was for my family; and having thus left off the thoughts of wandering, I had not the least discomfort in any part of my life, as to this world. Now I thought indeed, that I enjoyed that middle state of life, which my father so earnestly recommended to me. A kind of heavenly life, something like what is described by the poet upon the subject of a country life:

Free from vices, free from care,

Age has no pain, and youth no snare.

But in the middle of all this felicity, one blow from unseen Providence unhinged me at once; and not only made a breach upon me inevitable and incurable, but drove me by its consequence, upon a deep relapse into the

the wandering disposition, which, as I may say, being born in my very blood, soon recovered its hold of me; and, like the returns of a violent distemper, came on with an irresistible force upon me; so that nothing could make any more impresson on me. This blow was the loss of my wife!

It is not my business here to write an elegy upon my wife, to give a character of her particular virtues, and make my court to the sex by the flattery of a funeral sermon. She was, in a few words, the stay of all my affairs, the centre of all my enterprizes; the engine, that by her prudence, reduced me to that happy compass I was in, from the most extravagant and ruinous project that fluttered in my head, as above; and did more to guide my rambling genius than a mother's tears, a father's instructions, a friend's counsel, or all my own reasoning powers could do. I was happy in listening to her tears, and in being moved by her intreaties, and to the last degree desolate and dislocated in the world by the loss of her.

When she was gone, the world looked aukardly round me: I was as much a stranger in it, in my thoughts, as I was in the Brazils, when I first went on shore there; and as much alone, except as to the assistance of servants, as I was in my island. I knew neither what to do, or what not to do. I saw the world busy round me, one part labouring for bread, and the other squandering it in vile excesses or empty pleasures; equally miserable, because the end they proposed still fled from them; for the men of pleasure were every day surfeited of their vices, and heaped up work for sorrow and repentance; and the men of labour spent their strength in daily struggling for bread, to maintain the vital strength they laboured with; so living in a daily circulation of sorrow, living but to work, and working but to live; as if daily-bread were the only end of a wearisome life, and a wearisome life the only occasion of daily-bread.

This put me in mind of the life I lived in my kingdom,



dom, the island; where I suffered no more corn to grow, because I did not want it; and bred no more goats, because I had no more use for them; where the money lay in the drawer till it grew mildewed, and had scarce the favour to be looked upon in twenty years.

All these things, had I improved them as I ought to have done, and as reason and religion had dictated to me, would have taught me to search farther than human enjoyments for a full felicity, and that there was something which certainly was the reason and end of life, superior to all these things, which was either to be possessed, or at least hoped for on this side the grave.

But my sage counsellor was gone; I was like a ship without a pilot, that could only run afore the wind. My thoughts ran all away again into the old affair; my head was quite turned with the whimsies of foreign adventures; and all the pleasing innocent amusements of my farm and my garden, my cattle and my family, which before entirely possessed me, were nothing to me, had no relish, and were like music to one that has no ear, or food to one that has no taste. In a word, I resolved to leave off housekeeping, let my farm, and return to London. And in a few months after, I did so.

When I came to London, I was still as uneasy as before; I had no relish to the place, no employment in it, nothing to do but to saunter about like an idle person, of whom it may be said, he is perfectly useless in God's creation, and it is not one farthing matter to the rest of his kind whether he be dead or alive. This also was the thing, which of all circumstances of life was the most my aversion, who had been all my days used to an active life; and I would often say to myself, "A state of idleness is the very dregs of life!" And, indeed, I thought I was much more suitably employed, when I was twenty-six days making a deal-board.

It was now the beginning of the year 1693, when my nephew, whom, as I have observed before, I had brought up to the sea, and had made him commander of a ship, was come home from a short voyage to Bilboa, being

being the first he had made. He came to me, and told me that some merchants of his acquaintance had been proposing to him to go a voyage for them to the East-Indies, and to China, as private traders. "And now," uncle," says he, "if you will go to sea with me, I'll engage to land you upon your old habitation in the island, for we are to touch at the Brazils."

Nothing can be a greater demonstration of a future state, and of the existence of an invisible world, than the concurrence of second causes with the ideas of this, which we form in our minds, perfectly reserved, and not communicated to any in the world.

My nephew knew nothing how far my distemper of wandering was returned upon me, and I knew nothing of what he had in his thoughts to say; when that very morning before he came to see me, I had, in a great deal of confusion of thought and revolving every part of my circumstances in my mind, come to this resolution, viz. that I would go to Lisbon, and consult with my old sea-captain; and so, if it was rational and practicable, I would go and see the island again, and see what was become of my people there. I had pleased myself also with the thoughts of peopling the place, and carrying inhabitants from hence, getting a patent for the possession, and I know not what; when, in the middle of all this, in comes my nephew, as I have said, with his project of carrying me thither in his way to the East-Indies.

I paused awhile at his words, and looking steadily at him—"What devil," said I, "sent you on this unlucky errand?" My nephew startled, as if he had been frightened at first, but perceiving I was not much displeased with the proposal, he recovered himself. "I hope it may not be an unlucky proposal, Sir," says he, "I dare say you would be pleased to see your new colony there, where you once reigned with more felicity than most of your brother Monarchs in the world."

In a word, the scheme hit so exactly with my temper, that is to say, with the prepossession I was under,

under, and of which I have said so much, that I told him, in few words, if he agreed with the merchants, I would go with him: but I told him, I would not promise to go any farther than my own island. "Why, Sir," says he, "you don't want to be left there again, I hope?"—"Why," said I, "can you not take me up again in your return?" He told me, it would not be possible to do so; that the merchants would never allow him to come that way with a laden ship of such value, it being a month's sail out of his way, and might be three or four. "Besides, Sir, if I should miscarry," said he, "and not return at all, then you would be just reduced to the condition you were in before."

This was very rational; but we both found out a remedy for it, which was to carry a framed sloop on board the ship, which, being taken in pieces, and shipped on board the vessel, might, by the help of some carpenters, whom we agreed to carry with us, be put together again in the island, and finished, fit to go to sea in a few days.

I was not long resolving; for indeed the importunities of my nephew joined in so effectually with my inclination, that nothing could oppose me. On the other hand, my wife being dead, I had nobody that concerned themselves so much for me, as to persuade me one way or the other, except my ancient good friend the widow, who earnestly remonstrated with me to consider my years, my easy circumstances, and the needless hazard of a long voyage; and, above all, my young children. But it was all to no purpose, I had an irresistible desire to the voyage; and I told her, I thought there was something so uncommon in the impressions I had upon my mind for the voyage, that it would be a kind of resisting Providence, if I should attempt to stay at home. After this she ceased her expostulations; and joined with me not only in making provision for my voyage, but also in settling my family-affairs in my absence, and providing for the education of my children.

In order to this, I made my will, and settled the estate I had in such a manner for my children, and placed it in such hands, that I was perfectly easy and satisfied they would have justice done them, whatever might befall me; as for their education, I left it wholly to my widow, with a sufficient maintenance to herself for her care. All which she richly deserved; for no mother could have taken more care in their education, or understood it better; and as she lived till I came home, I also lived to thank her for it.

My nephew was ready to sail about the beginning of January, 1694-5; and I, with my man Friday, went on board, in the *Downs*, the 8th, having, besides that sloop which I mentioned above, a very considerable cargo of all kinds of necessary things for my colony, which if I did not find in a good condition, I resolved to leave so.

First, I carried with me some servants, whom I purposed to place there as inhabitants, or at least, to set to work there upon my own account while I staid, and either to leave them there, or carry them forward, as they should appear willing; particularly, I carried two carpenters, a smith, and a very handy ingenious fellow, who was a cooper by trade, but was also a general mechanic, for he was dextrous at making wheels, and hand-mills to grind corn; was a good turner, and a good pot-maker; he also made any thing that was proper to form of earth, or wood; in a word, we called him our "Jack of all trades."

With these I carried a taylor, who had offered himself to go passenger to the East-Indies with my nephew, but afterwards consented to stay on our new plantation, and proved a most necessary handy fellow, as could be desired, in many other employments besides that of his trade; for, as I observed before, necessity arms us against all difficulties.

My cargo, as near as I can recollect, for I have not kept an account of particulars, consisted of a sufficient quantity of linen, and some thin English stuffs, for cloathing



cloathing the Spaniards that I expected to find there; and enough of them, as, by my calculation, might comfortably supply them for seven years. If I remember right, the materials which I carried for cloathing them, with gloves, hats, shoes, stockings, and all such things as they could want for wearing, amounted to above 200l. including some beds, bedding, and household-stuff, particularly kitchen-utenils, with pots, kettles, pewter, brass, &c. besides near 100l. more in iron-work, nails, tools of every kind, staples, hooks, hinges, and every necessary thing I could think of.

I carried also a hundred spare arms, musquets and fustils, besides some pistols, a considerable quantity of shot of all sizes, three or four tons of lead, and two pieces of brass cannon; and because I knew not what time, and what extremities I was providing for, I carried an hundred barrells of powder, besides swords and cutlasses, and the iron part of some pikes and halberts; so that, in short, we had a large magazine of all sorts of stores; and I made my nephew carry two small quarter-deck guns more than he wanted for his ship, to leave behind, if there was occasion; that, when they came there, we might build a fort, and man it against all sorts of enemies: and indeed I at first thought there would be need enough of it all, and much more, if we hoped to maintain our possession of the island.

I had not such bad luck in this voyage as I had been used to meet with; and therefore shall have the less occasion to interrupt the reader, who, perhaps, may be impatient to hear how matters went with my colony; yet, some odd accidents, cross winds, and bad weather, happened on our first setting out, which made the voyage longer than I expected it at first; and I, who had never made but one voyage, (viz. my first voyage to Guinea) in which I might be said to come back again, as the voyage was at first designed, began to think the same ill fate still attended me, and that I was born to be never contented with my own shore, and yet to be always unfortunate at sea.

Contrary winds first drove us to the northward, and we were obliged to put in at Galway, in Ireland, where we lay wind-bound two and thirty-days; but we had this satisfaction with the disaster, that provisions were here exceeding cheap, and in the utmost plenty; so that while we lay here, we never touched the ship's stores, but rather added to them. Here also I took several hogs, and two cows with their calves, which I resolved, if I had a good passage, to put ashore in my island; but we found occasion to dispose of them otherwise,

We set out the 5th of February from Ireland, and had a very fair gale of wind for some days. According to my remembrance, it might be about the 20th of February, in the evening, late, when the mate, having the watch, came into the round-house, and told us, he saw a flash of fire, and heard a gun fired; and while he was telling us of it, a boy came in, and told us the boatswain heard another. This made us all run out upon the quarter-deck, where for awhile we heard nothing: but in a few minutes we saw a very great light, and found that there was some very terrible fire at a distance. Immediately we had recourse to our reckonings, in which we all agreed, that there could be no land that way in which the fire shewed itself; no, not for 500 leagues; for it appeared at W.N.W. Upon this, we concluded it must be some ship on fire at sea; and as, by our hearing the noise of guns just before, we concluded it could not be far off, we stood directly towards it, and were presently satisfied we should discover it, because the farther we sailed, the greater the light appeared, though the weather being hazy, we could not perceive any thing but the light for awhile. In about half an hour's sailing, the wind being fair for us, though not much of it, and the weather clearing up a little, we could plainly discern that it was a great ship on fire in the middle of the sea. I was most sensibly touched with this disaster, though not at all acquainted with the persons engaged in it. I presently recollected my former circumstances,

circumstances, in what condition I was when taken up by the Portuguese captain; and how much more deplorable the circumstances of the poor creatures belonging to the ship must be, if they had no other ship in company with them. Upon this, I immediately ordered that five guns should be fired, one soon after another, that, if possible, we might give notice to them that there was help for them at hand, and that they might endeavour to save themselves in their boat; for though we could see the flame in the ship, yet they, it being night, could see nothing of us.

We lay by some time upon this, only driving as the burning ship drove, waiting for day-light; when on a sudden, to our great terror, though we had reason to expect it, the ship blew up in the air, and immediately (that is to say, in a few minutes) all the fire was out; that is to say, the rest of the ship sunk. This was terrible, and indeed an afflicting sight, for the sake of the poor men, who, I concluded, must be either all destroyed in the ship, or be in the utmost distress in their boats in the middle of the ocean, which, at present from its being dark, I could not see; however, to direct them as well as I could, I caused lights to be hung out in all the parts of the ship where we could, and which we had lanthorns for, and kept firing guns all the night long; letting them know by this, that there was a ship not far off.

About eight o'clock in the morning, we discovered the ship's boats, by the help of our perspective-glasses; and found there were two of them, both thronged with people, and deep in the water. We perceived they rowed, the wind being against them; that they saw our ship, and did the utmost to make us see them.

We immediately spread our ancient, to let them know we saw them, and hung a waft out, as a signal for them to come on board; and then made more sail, standing directly to them. In a little more than half an hour, we came up with them; and, in a word, took them all in, being no less than sixty-four men, women, and children; for there were a great many passengers.

Upon the whole, we found it was a French merchant-ship of 300 tons, homeward-bound from Quebec, in the river of Canada. The master gave us a long account of the distress of his ship, how the fire began in the steerage, by the negligence of the steersman; but, on his crying out for help, was, as every body thought, entirely put out. But they soon found, that some sparks of the first fire had got into some part of the ship, so difficult to come at, that they could not effectually quench it; and afterwards getting in between the timbers, and within the ceiling of the ship, it proceeded into the hold, and mastered all the skill and all the application they were able to exert.

They had no more to do then, but to get into their boats, which to their great comfort, were pretty large; being their long-boat, and a great shallop, besides a small skiff, which was of no great service to them, other than to get some fresh water and provisions into her, after they had secured themselves from the fire. They had indeed small hope of their lives by getting into these boats at that distance from any land; only, as they justly said, that they were escaped from the fire, and had a possibility that some ship might happen to be at sea and might take them in. They had sails, oars, and a compass, and were preparing to make the best of their way to Newfoundland, the wind blowing pretty fair; for it blew an easy gale at S. E. by E. They had as much provision and water, as, with sparing it so as to be nearly starving, might support them about twelve days; in which, if they had no bad weather, and no contrary winds, the captain said, he hoped he might get to the Banks of Newfoundland, and might perhaps take some fish to sustain them till they might go on shore. But there were so many chances against them in all these cases; such as storms to overset and founder them; rains and cold to benumb and perish their limbs: contrary winds to keep them out and starve them; that it must have been next to miraculous if they had escaped.

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In the midst of these consultations, every one being hopeless and ready to despair, the captain with tears in his eyes told me, they were on a sudden surprized with the joy of hearing a gun fire, and after that four more; these were the five guns which I caused to be fired at first seeing the light; this revived their hearts, and gave them the notice, which, as above, I designed it should, viz. that there was a ship at hand for their help.

It was upon the hearing of these guns that they took down their masts and sails; and the sound coming from the windward, they resolved to lie by till morning. Some time after this, hearing no more guns, they fired three musquets, one, a considerable while after another; but these, the wind being contrary, we never heard.

Some time after that again, they were still more agreeably surprized with seeing our lights, and hearing the guns, which, as I have said, I caused to be fired all the rest of the night; this set them to work with their oars to keep their boats a-head, at least that we might the sooner come up with them; and at last, to their inexpressible joy, they found we saw them.

It is impossible for me to express the several gestures, the strange extasies, the variety of postures, which these poor delivered people run into, to express the joy of their souls at so unexpected a deliverance; grief and fear are easily described; sighs, tears, groans, and a very few motions of head and hands, make up the sum of its variety; but an excess of joy, a surprize of joy, has a thousand extravagancies in it; there were some in tears, some raging and tearing themselves, as if they had been in the greatest agonies of sorrow: some stark raving and downright lunatic; some ran about the ship stamping with their feet, others wringing their hands; some were dancing, several singing, some laughing, more crying; many quite dumb, not able to speak a word; others sick and vomiting; several swooning, and ready to faint; and a few were crossing themselves, and giving God thanks.

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I would not wrong them neither; there might be many that were thankful afterward; but the passion was too strong for them at first, and they were not able to master it: they were thrown into extasies and a kind of frenzy, and so there were but a very few who were composed and serious in their joy.

Perhaps also the case may have some addition to it, from the particular circumstance of the nation they belonged to: I mean, the French, whose temper is allowed to be more volatile, more passionate, and more sprightly, and their spirits more fluid, than of other nations. I am not philosopher enough to determine the cause, but nothing I had ever seen before came up to it; the extasies poor Friday, my trusty savage was in, when he found his father in the boat, came the nearest to it; and the surprize of the master, and his two companions, whom I delivered from the two villains that set them on shore in the island, came a little way towards it; but nothing was to compare to this, either that I saw in Friday, or any where else in my life.

It is farther observeable, that these extravagancies did not shew themselves in that different manner I have mentioned, in different persons only; but all the variety would appear in a short succession of moments in one and the same person. A man that we saw this minute dumb, and, as it were, stupid and confounded, should the next minute be dancing and hallooing like an antic; and the next moment tearing his hair, or pulling his cloaths to pieces, and stamping them under his feet like a madman; a few minutes after that, we should have him all in tears, then sick, then swooning: and had not immediate help been had, would, in a few moments more, have been dead: and thus it was, not with one or two, or ten or twenty, but with the greatest part of them; and, if I remember right, our surgeon was obliged to bleed above thirty of them.

There were two priests among them, one an old man, and the other a young man; and that which was strangest was, that the oldest man was the worst.

As soon as he set his foot on board our ship, and saw himself safe, he dropped down stone-dead, to all appearance; not the least sign of life could be perceived in him; our surgeon immediately applied proper remedies to recover him, and was the only man in the ship that believed he was not dead; and at length he opened a vein in his arm, having first chafed and rubbed the part, so as to warm it as much as possible; upon this the blood, which only dropped at first, flowed something freely; in three minutes after the man opened his eyes; and about a quarter of an hour after that he spoke, grew better, and in a little time quite well: after the blood was stopped, he walked about, told us he was perfectly well, took a dram of cordial, which the surgeon gave him, and was, what we call come to himself. About a quarter of an hour after this, they came running into the cabin to the surgeon, who was bleeding a French woman that had fainted, and told him the priest was gone stark mad. It seems he had begun to revolve the change of his circumstances in his mind, and this put him into an extasy of joy: his spirits whirled about faster than the vessels could convey them; the blood grew hot and feverish: and the man was as fit for Bedlam as any creature that ever was in it: the surgeon would not bleed him again in that condition, but gave him something to doze and put him to sleep; which, after some time operated upon him, and he waked next morning perfectly composed and well.

The younger priest behaved himself with great command of his passion, and was really an example of a serious well-governed mind. At his first coming on board the ship, he threw himself flat on his face, prostrating himself in thankfulness for his deliverance: in which I unhappily and unseasonably disturbed him, really thinking he had been a swoon; but he spake calmly, thanked me, told me he was giving God thanks for his deliverance: begged me to leave him a few moments, and that, next to his Maker, he would give me thanks also,

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I was heartily sorry that I disturbed him : and not only left him, but kept others from interrupting him also. He continued in that posture about three minutes, or a little more, after I left him : then came to me, as he had said he would, and with a great deal of seriousness and affection, but with tears in his eyes, thanked me, who had under God, given him and so many miserable creatures their lives. I told him, I had no cause to move him to thank God for it rather than me, for I had seen that he had done that already : but I added, that it was nothing but what reason and humanity dictated to all men, and that we had as much reason as he to give thanks to God, who had blessed us so far as to make us the instruments of his mercy to so many of his creatures.

After this, the young priest applied himself to his country-folks, laboured to compose them : persuaded, intreated, argued, reasoned with them, and did his utmost to keep them within the exercise of their reason : and with some he had success, though others were, for a time, out of all government of themselves.

I cannot help committing this to writing, as perhaps it may be useful to those into whose hands it may fall, in the guiding themselves in all the extravagancies of their passions : for if an excess of joy can carry men out to such a length beyond the reach of their reason, what will not the extravagancies of anger, rage, and a provoked mind carry us to ! And, indeed, here I saw reason for keeping an extraordinary watch over our passions of every kind, as well those of joy and satisfaction, as those of sorrow and anger.

We were something disordered by these extravagancies among our new guests for the first day : but when they had retired to lodgings provided for them as well as our ship would allow, and they had slept heartily, as most of them did, being fatigued and frightened, they were quite another sort of people the next day.

Nothing of good manners, or civil acknowledgements for the kindness shewn them, was wanting : the French, it is known, are naturally apt enough to exceed



ceed that way. The captain and one of the priests came to me the next day: and, desiring to speak with me and my nephew, began to consult with us what should be done with them; and first they told us, that, as we had saved their lives, so all they had was little enough as a return to us for the kindness received. The captain said, they had saved some money, and some things of value in their boats, caught hastily out of the flames; and if we would accept it, they were ordered to make an offer of it all to us; they only desired to be set on shore somewhere in our way, where, if possible, they might get a passage to France.

My nephew was for accepting their money at the first word, and considering what to do with them afterwards: but I over-ruled him in that part, for I knew what it was to be set on shore in a strange country; and if the Portugal captain, that took me up at sea, had served me so, and took all I had for my deliverance, I must have starved, or have been as much a slave at the Brazils as I had been at Barbary, the being sold to a Mahometan only excepted; and perhaps a Portugueze is not a much better master than a Turk, if not, in some cases, a much worse.

I therefore told the French captain, that we had taken them up in their distress, it was true; but that it was our duty to do so, as we were fellow-creatures, and as we would desire to be so delivered if we were in the like or any other extremity; that we had done nothing for them but what we believed they would have done for us, if we had been in their case and they in ours; but that we took them up to serve them, not to plunder them; and that it would be a most barbarous thing to take that little from them which they had saved out of the fire, and then set them on shore and leave them; for this would be first to save them from death, and then kill them ourselves; save them from drowning, and then abandon them to starving; and therefore I would not let the least thing be taken from them. As to setting them on shore, I told them, indeed, that was an exceeding

ceeding great difficulty to us, for the ship was bound to the East-Indies; and though we were driven out of our course to the westward a very great way, which perhaps was directed by Heaven on purpose for their deliverance, yet it was impossible for us wilfully to change our voyage on this particular account: nor could my nephew, the captain, answer it to the freighters, with whom he was under charter party to pursue his voyage by the way of Brazil; and all I knew he could do for them was, to put ourselves in the way of meeting with other ships homeward-bound from the West-Indies, and get them passage, if possible, to England or France.

The first part of the proposal was so generous and kind, that they could not but be very thankful for it; but they were in a great consternation, especially the passengers, at the notion of being carried away to the East Indies. They then intreated me, that seeing I was driven so far to the westward before I met with them, I would at least keep on the same course to the Banks of Newfoundland, where it was possible I might meet with some ship or sloop that they might hire to carry them back to Canada, from whence they came.

I thought this was but a reasonable request on their part, and therefore I was inclined to agree to it; for indeed, I considered, that to carry this whole company to the East-Indies, would not only be an intolerable severity to the poor people, but would be ruining our whole voyage by devouring all our provisions; so I thought it no breach of charter-party, but what an unforeseen accident made absolutely necessary to us, and in which no one could say we were to blame: for the laws of God and nature would have forbid that we should refuse to take up two boats full of people in such a distressed condition: and the nature of the thing, as well respecting ourselves as the poor people, obliged us to see them on shore, somewhere or other for their deliverance: so I consented that we should carry them to Newfoundland, if wind and weather would permit: and, if not, that I would carry them to Martinico, in the West-Indies.

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The wind continued fresh easterly, but the weather pretty good: and as it had blowed continually in the points between N. E. and S. E. a long time, we missed several opportunities of sending them to France: for we met several ships bound to Europe, whereof two were French, from St. Christopher's; but they had been so long beating up against the wind, that they durst take in no passengers, for fear of wanting provisions for the voyage, as well for themselves as for those they should take in; so we were obliged to go on. It was about a week after this, that we made the Banks of Newfoundland; where, to shorten my story, we put all our French people on board a bark, which they hired at sea there, to put them on shore, and afterwards to carry them to France, if they could get provision to victual themselves with. When I say all the French went on shore, I should remember, that the young priest I spoke of, hearing we were bound to the East-Indies, desired to go the voyage with us, and to be set on shore on the coast of Coromandel: I readily agreed to that; for I wonderfully liked the man, and had very good reason, as will appear afterwards; also four of the seamen entered themselves in our ship, and proved very useful fellows.

From hence we directed our course for the West-Indies, steering away S. and S. by E. for about twenty days together, sometimes little or no wind at all, when we met with another subject for our humanity to work upon, almost as deplorable as that before.

It was in the latitude of twenty-seven degrees, five minutes N. and the 19th day of March, 1694-5, when we espied a sail, our course S. E. and by S. We soon perceived it was a large vessel, and that she bore up to us; but could not at first know what to make of her, till after coming a little nearer, we found she had lost her main-top-mast, fore-mast, and boltspit; and presently she fired a gun as a signal of distress; the weather was pretty good, wind at N. N. W. a fresh gale, and we soon came to speak with her.

We found her a ship of Bristol, bound home from Barbadoes, but had been blown out of the road at Barbadoes, a few days before she was ready to sail, by a terrible hurricane, while the captain and chief mate were both gone on shore; so that, beside the terror of the storm, they were but in an indifferent case for good artists to bring the ship home; they had been already nine weeks at sea, and had met with another terrible storm after the hurricane was over, which had blown them quite out of their knowledge to the westward, and in which they lost their masts, as above. They told us, they expected to have seen the Bahama islands, but were driven away again to the south-east, by a strong gale of wind at N. N. W. the same that blew now, and having no sails to work the ship with, but a main-course and a kind of square sail upon a jury-foremast, which they had set up, they could not lie near the wind, but were endeavouring to stand away for the Canaries.

But that which was worst of all was, that they were almost starved for want of provisions; besides the fatigues they had undergone, their bread and flesh was quite gone, they had not an ounce left in the ship, and had had none for eleven days; the only relief they had was, their water was not all spent, and they had about half a barrel of flour left; they had sugar enough; some succades or sweetmeats they had at first, but they were devoured; and they had seven casks of rum.

There was a youth and his mother, and a maid servant, on board, who were going passengers, and thinking the ship was ready to sail, unhappily came on board the evening before the hurricane began; and, having no provisions of their own left, they were in a more deplorable condition than the rest; for the seamen, being reduced to such an extreme necessity themselves, had no compassion, we may be sure, for the poor passengers; and they were indeed, in such a condition, that their misery is very hard to describe.

I had, perhaps, not known this part, if my curiosity had not led me, the weather being fair, and the wind



wind abated, to go on board the ship. The second mate, who upon this occasion commanded the ship, had been on board our ship; and he told me, indeed, that they had three passengers in the great cabin, and that they were in a deplorable condition: 'Nay (says he) I believe they are dead, for I have heard nothing of them for above two days; and I was afraid to enquire after them, for I had nothing to relieve them with.'

We immediately applied ourselves to give them what relief we could spare; and, indeed, I had so far overruled things with my nephew, that I would have victualled them, though we had gone away to Virginia, or any part of the coast of America, to have supplied ourselves; but there was no necessity for that.

But now they were in a new danger; for they were afraid of eating too much, even of that little we gave them. The mate or commander brought six men with him in this little boat; but these poor wretches looked like skeletons, and were so weak, they could hardly sit to their oars: the mate himself was very ill, and half-starved; for he declared he had reserved nothing from the men, and went share and share alike with them in every bit they eat.

I cautioned him to eat sparingly, but set meat before him immediately, and he had not eaten three mouthfuls before he began to be sick and out of order; so he stopped awhile, and our surgeon mixed him up something with some broth, which he said would be to him both food and physic; and after he had taken it, he grew better: in the mean time, I forgot not the men; I ordered victuals to be given them, and the poor creatures rather devoured than eat it; they were so exceeding hungry, that they were in a manner ravenous, and had no command of themselves; and two of them eat with so much greediness, that they were in danger of their lives the next morning.

The sight of these people's distress was very moving to me, and brought to mind what I had a terrible prospect of at my first coming on shore in my island, where I

had not the least mouthful of food, or any hopes of procuring it; besides the hourly apprehension I had of being made the food of other creatures. But all the while the mate was thus relating to me the miserable condition of the ship's company, I could not put out of my thought the story he had told me of the three poor creatures in the great cabin: viz. the mother, her son, and the maid-servant, whom he had heard nothing of for two or three days; and whom he seemed to confess they had wholly neglected, their own extremities being so great; by which I understood, that they had really given them no food at all, and that therefore they must be perished, and be all lying dead, perhaps, on the floor or deck of the cabin.

As I therefore kept the mate, whom we then called captain, on board with his men, to refresh them, so I also forgot not the starving crew that were left on board, but ordered my own boat to go on board the ship, and with my mate and twelve men to carry them a sack of bread, and four or five pieces of beef to boil. Our surgeon charged the men to cause the meat to be boiled while they staid, and to keep guard in the cook-room, to prevent the men's taking it to eat it raw, or taking it out of the pot before it was well boiled, and then to give every man but a little at a time: and by this caution he preserved the men, who would otherwise have killed themselves with that very food that was given them on purpose to save their lives.

At the same time, I ordered the mate to go into the great cabin, and see in what condition the poor passengers were; and if they were alive, to comfort them, and give them what refreshment was proper, and the surgeon gave him a large pitcher of some of the prepared broth which he had given the mate that was on board, and which he did not question would restore them gradually.

I was now satisfied with this: but, as I said above, having a great mind to see the scene of misery, which I knew the ship itself would present me with, in a more lively

lively manner than I could have it by report, I took the captain of the ship, as we now called him, with me, and went myself a little after in their boat.

I found the poor men on board almost in a tumult to get the victuals out of the boiler before it was ready. But my mate observed his order, and kept a good guard at the cook-room door; and the man he placed there, after using all possible persuasion to have patience, kept them off by force: however, he caused some biscuit-cakes to be dipped in the pot, and softened them with the liquor of the meat, which they call *brewis*, and gave them every one one, to stay their stomachs: and told them, it was for their own safety that he was obliged to give them but little at a time. But it was all in vain; and had I not come on board, and their own commander and officers with me, and with good words, and some threats also of giving them no more, I believe they would have broke into my cook-room by force, and tore the meat out of the furnace; for words, indeed, are of very small force to an hungry belly. However, we pacified them, and fed them gradually and cautiously for the first time, and the next time gave them more, and at last filled their bellies, and the men did well enough.

But the misery of the poor passengers in the cabin was of another nature, and far beyond the rest; for as, first, the ship's company had so little for themselves, it was but too true, that they had at first kept them very low, and at last totally neglected them; so that for six or seven days, it might be said, they really had no food at all, and for several days before very little.

The poor mother who, as the first mate reported, was a woman of good sense and good breeding, had spared all she could get so affectionately for her son, that at last she entirely sunk under it; and when the mate of our ship went in, she sat upon the floor or deck, with her back up against the sides, between two chairs, which were lashed fast, and her head sunk in between her shoulders, like a corpse though not quite dead. My

mate said all he could to revive and encourage her, and with a spoon put some broth into her mouth. She opened her lips, and lifted up one hand, but could not speak: yet she understood what he said, and made signs to him, intimating, that it was too late for her; but pointed to her child, as if she would have said, they should take care of him.

However, the mate, who was exceedingly moved with the sight, endeavoured to get some of the broth into her mouth; and as he said, got two or three spoonfuls down, though I question whether he could be sure of it or not: but it was too late, and she died the same night.

The youth, who was preserved at the price of his most affectionate mother's life, was not so far gone; yet he lay in a cabin-bed, as one stretched out, with hardly any life left in him: he had a piece of an old glove in his mouth, having eaten up the rest of it; however, being young, and having more strength than his mother, the mate got something down his throat, and he began sensibly to revive; though by giving him, some time after, but two or three spoonfuls extraordinary, he was very sick, and brought it up again.

But the next care was the poor maid. She lay all along upon the deck hard by her mistress, and just like one that had fallen down with an apoplexy, and struggled for life: her limbs were distorted; one of her hands was clasped round the frame of one chair, and she griped it so hard, that we could not easily make her let it go; her other arm lay over her head, and her feet lay both together, set fast against the frame of the cabin-table; in short she lay just like one in the last agonies of death, and yet she was alive too.

The poor creature was not only starved with hunger, and terrified with the thoughts of death, but, as the men told us afterwards, was broken-hearted for her mistress, whom she saw dying two or three days before, and whom she loved most tenderly.

We knew not what to do with this poor girl; for  
when



when our surgeon, who was a man of very great knowledge and experience, had with great application recovered her as to life, he had her upon his hand as to her senses; for she was little less than distracted for a considerable time after.

Whoever shall read these memorandums, must be desired to consider, that visits at sea are not like a journey into the country, where sometimes people stay a week or a fortnight at a place. Our business was to relieve this distressed ship's crew, but not lie by for them; and though they were willing to steer the same course with us for some days, yet we could carry no sail to keep pace with a ship that had no masts. However, as their captain begged of us to help him to set up a main-top-mast, and a kind of top-mast to his jury-fore-mast, we did, as it were, lie by him for three or four days; and then having given him five barrells of beef and pork, two hogsheads of biscuit, and a proportion of peas, flour, and what other things we could spare; and taking three casks of sugar, and some rum, and some pieces of eight of them for satisfaction, we left them; taking on board with us, at their own earnest request, the youth and the maid, and all their goods.

The young lad was about seventeen years of age, a pretty, well-bred, modest, and sensible youth; greatly dejected with the loss of his mother, and, as it seems, had lost his father but a few months before at Barbadoes. He begged of the surgeon to speak to me, to take him out of the ship; for, he said, the cruel fellows had murdered his mother; and indeed, so they had, that is to say, passively; for they might have spared a small sustenance to the poor helpless widow, that might have preserved her life, though it had been just to keep her alive. But hunger knows no friend, no relation, no justice, no right; and therefore is remorseless, and capable of no compassion.

The surgeon told him how far we were going, and that it would carry him away from all his friends, and put him perhaps, in as bad circumstances almost as we found them

them, that is to say, starving in the world. He said, it mattered not whither he went, if he was but delivered from the terrible crew that he was among: that the captain (by which he meant me, for he could know nothing of my nephew) had saved his life, and he was sure would not hurt him, and as for the maid, he was sure, if she came to herself, she would be very thankful for it, let us carry them whither we would. The surgeon represented the case so affectionately to me, that I yielded, and we took them on board, with all their goods, except eleven hogsheads of sugar, which could not be removed or come at; and as the youth had a bill of lading for them, I made his commander sign a writing, obliging him to go, as soon as he came to Bristol, to one Mr. Rogers, a merchant there, to whom the youth said he was related, and to deliver a letter which I wrote to him, and all the goods he had belonging to the deceased widow, which I suppose was not done; for I could never learn that the ship came to Bristol, but was, as is most probable, lost at sea, being in so disabled a condition, and so far from any land, that I am of opinion, the first storm she met with afterwards she might founder in the sea; for she was leaky, and had damage in her hold when I met with her.

I was now in the latitude of 19 degrees 32 minutes, and had hitherto had a tolerable voyage as to weather, though at first the winds had been contrary. I shall not trouble my readers with the little incidents of wind, weather, currents, &c. on the rest of our voyage; but shortening my story for the sake of what is to follow, shall observe, that I came to my old habitation, the island, on the 10th of April, 1695. It was with no small difficulty that I found the place; for as I came to it, and went from it before, on the south and east-side of the island, as coming from the Brazils, so now coming in between the main and the island, and having no chart for the coast, nor any land-mark, I did not know it when I saw it, or know whether I saw it or no.

We beat about a great while, and went on shore on several

veral islands in the mouth of the great River Oroonoke, but none for my purpose; only this I learned by my coasting the shore, that I was under one great mistake before, viz. that the continent, which I thought I saw from the island I lived in was really no continent, but a long island, or rather a ridge of islands, reaching from one to the other side of the extended mouth of that great river: and that the savages who came to my island, were not properly those which we call Caribbees, but islanders, and other barbarians of the same kind, who inhabited something nearer to our side than the rest.

In short, I visited several of the islands to no purpose; some I found were inhabited, and some were not. On one of them I found some Spaniards, and thought they had lived there; but, speaking with them, found they had a sloop lay in a small creek hard by, and that they came thither to make salt, and catch pearl mussels if they could, but they belonged to the Isle de Trinidad, which lay farther north, in the latitude of 10 and 11 degrees.

Thus coasting from one island to another, sometimes with the ship, sometimes with the Frenchman's shallop, (which we had found a convenient boat, and therefore kept her with their very good will) at length I came fair on the south-side of my island, and I presently knew the very countenance of the place; so I brought the ship safe to an anchor, broadside with the little creek where was my old habitation.

As soon as I saw the place, I called for Friday, and asked him if he knew where he was. He looked about a little, and presently clapping his hands, cried—'O yes! O there! O yes! O there!' pointing to our old habitation, and fell a dancing and capering like a mad fellow, and I had much ado to keep him from jumping into the sea, to swim ashore to the place.

'Well, Friday, (said I) do you think we shall find any body here or no? And what do you think, shall we see your father?' The fellow stood mute as a stock a good while; but when I named his father, the poor affectionate creature looked dejected; and I could see

see the tears run down his face very plentifully. 'What is the matter, Friday? (said I) are you troubled because you may see your father?'—'No, no, (says he shaking his head) no see him more, no ever more see again.—' Why so (said I) Friday? How do you know that?—(O no! O no! say Friday) he long ago die; long ago, he much old man.—Well, well (said I) Friday you don't know. But shall we see any one else then?' The fellow, it seems, had better eyes than I, and he pointed just to the hill above my old house, and though we lay half a league off, he cried out—' Me see! me see! yes, yes, me see much man there, and there, and there.' I looked, but I could see nobody, no, not with a perspective-glass; which was, I suppose, because I could not hit the place; for the fellow was right, as I found upon enquiry the next day, and there were five or six men altogether stood to look at the ship, not knowing what to think of us.

As soon as Friday had told me he saw people, I caused the English ancient to be spread, and fired three guns, to give them notice we were friends; and about half a quarter of an hour after, we perceived a smoke rise from the side of the creek; so I immediately ordered a boat out, taking Friday with me; and, hanging out a white flag, or a flag of truce, I went directly on shore, taking with me the young friar I mentioned, to whom I had told the whole story of my living there, and the manner of it, and every particular, both of myself and those I left there; and who was, on that account, extremely desirous to go with me. We had besides about sixteen men very well armed, if we had found any new guest there which we did not know of; but we had no need of weapons.

As we went on shore upon the tide of flood, near high water, we rowed directly into the creek, and the first man I fixed my eye upon was the Spaniard whose life I had saved, and whom I knew by his face perfectly well; as to his habit, I shall describe it afterwards. I ordered nobody to go on shore at first but myself



self, but there was no keeping Friday in the boat; for the affectionate creature had spied his father at a distance, a good way off of the Spaniards, where indeed I saw nothing of him; and, if they had not let him go on shore, he would have jumped into the sea. He was no sooner on shore, but he flew away to his father like an arrow out of a bow. It would have made any man shed tears, in spite of the firmest resolution, to have seen the first transports of this poor fellow's joy when he came to his father; how he embraced him, kissed him, stroaked his face, took him up in his arms, set him down upon a tree, and laid down by him; then stood and looked at him, as any one would look at a strange picture, for a quarter of an hour together; then laid down upon the ground, and stroaked his legs, and kissed them, and then got up again, and stared at him: one would have thought the fellow bewitched. But it would have made a dog laugh to see how the next day his passion ran out another way. In the morning he walked along the shore, to-and-again, with his father, several hours, always leading him by the hand, as if he had been a lady; and every now and then would come to fetch something or other for him to the boat, either a lump of sugar, or a dram, a biscuit, or something or other that was good. In the afternoon his follies ran another way; for then he would set the old man down upon the ground, and dance about him, and made a thousand antick postures and gestures; and all the while he did this, he would be talking to him, and telling him one story or another of his travels, and of what had happened to him abroad, to divert him. In short, if the same filial affection was to be found in Christians to their parents, in our parts of the world, one would be tempted to say, there hardly would have been any need of the fifth commandment.

But this is a digression. I return to my landing. It would be endless to take notice of all the ceremonies and civilities that the Spaniards received me with. The first Spaniard, whom as I said, I knew very well, was he

he whose life I saved. He came towards the boat, attended by one more, carrying a flag of truce also; and he did not only not know me at first, but he had no thoughts, no notion of its being me that was come, till I spoke to him. 'Signior (said I), in Portuguese 'do you not know me?' At which he spoke not a word; but, giving his musquet to the man that was with him, extended his arms, and saying something in Spanish, that I did not perfectly hear, came forward, and embraced me, telling me he was inexcusable not to know that face again, that he had once seen, as of an angel from heaven, sent to save his life. He said abundance of very handsome things, as a well-bred Spaniard always knows how; and then beckoning to the person that attended him, bade him go and call out his comrades. He then asked me, if I would walk to my old habitation, where he would give me possession of my own house again, and where I should see there had been but mean improvements. So I walked along with him; but alas! I could no more find the place again, than if I had never been there; for they had planted so many trees, and placed them in such a posture, so thick and close to one another, in ten years time they were grown so big, that in short, the place was inaccessible except by such windings and blind ways as they themselves only who made them could find.

I asked them what put them upon all these fortifications. He told me, I would say there was need enough of it, when they had given an account how they had passed their time since their arriving in the island, especially after they had the misfortune to find that I was gone. He told me he could not but have some pleasure in my good fortune, when he heard that I was gone in a good ship, and to my satisfaction; and that he had oftentimes a strong persuasion, that one time or other he should see me again. But nothing that ever befel him in his life, he said, was so surprizing and afflicting to him at first, as the disappointment he was under when he came back to the island, and found I was not there.

As to the three barbarians (so he called them) that were left behind, and of whom, he said, he had a long story to tell me, the Spaniards all thought themselves much better among the savages, only that there number was so small. ‘And,’ says he, ‘had they been strong enough, we had been all long ago in purgatory!’ And with that he crossed himself upon the breast. ‘But,’ Sir, says he, ‘I hope you will not be displeased, when I shall tell you how, forced by necessity, we were obliged, for our own preservation, to disarm them, and make them our subjects, who would not be content with being moderately our masters, but would be our murderers.’ I answered, I was greatly afraid of it when I left them there; and nothing troubled me at my parting from the island, but that they were not come back, that I might have put them in possession of every thing first, and left the others in a state of subjection, as they deserved: but if they had reduced them to it, I was very glad, and should be very far from finding any fault with it; for I knew they were a parcel of refractory ungovernable villains, and were fit for any manner of mischief.

While I was saying this, came the man whom he had sent back, and with him eleven men more. In the dress they were in, it was impossible to guess what nation they were of; but he made all clear both to them and to me. First, he turned to me, and pointing to them, said—‘These, Sir, are some of them of the gentlemen who owe their lives to you.’ And then turning to them, and pointing to me, he let them know who I was; upon which they all came up one by one, not as if they had been sailors and ordinary fellows, and the like, but really as if they had been ambassadors or noblemen, and I a monarch or a great conqueror. Their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous, and yet mixed with a manly, majestic gravity, which very well became them; and, in short, they had so much more manners than I, that I scarce knew how to

receive their civilities, much less how to return them in kind.

The history of their coming to, and conduct in the island, after my going away, is so remarkable, and has so many incidents, which the former part of my relation will help to understand, and which will, in most of the particulars, refer to that account I have already given that I cannot but commit them with great delight to the reading of those that come after me.

I shall no longer protract the story with a relation in the first person, which will put me to the expence of ten thousand *said I's*, and *said he's*, and *he told me's*, and *I told him's*, and the like; but I shall collect the facts historically, as near as I can gather them out of my memory from what they related to me, and from what I met with in my conversing with them, and with the place.

In order to do this succinctly, and as intelligibly as I can, I must go back to the circumstances in which I left the island, and which the persons were in of whom I am to speak. At first it is necessary to repeat, that I had sent away Friday's father and the Spaniard, the two whose lives I had rescued from the savages; I say, I had sent them away in a large canoe to the main (as I then thought it) to fetch over the Spaniards companions whom he had left behind him, in order to save them from the like calamity that he had been in; and in order to succour them for the present, and that, if possible, we might together find some way for our deliverance afterwards.

When I sent them away I had no visible appearance of, or the least room to hope for, my own deliverance, any more than I had twenty years before; much less had I any foreknowledge of what after happened; I mean of an English ship coming ashore there to fetch them off; and it could not but be a very great surprize to them, when they came back, not only to find that I was gone, but to find three strangers left on the spot, possessed



possession of all that I had left behind me, which would otherwise have been their own.

The first thing, however, which I enquired into, that I might begin where I left off, was of their own part; and I desired he would give me a particular account of his voyage back to his countrymen with the boat, when I sent him to fetch them over. He told me there was little variety in that part; for nothing remarkable happened to them on the way, they having very calm weather and a smooth sea; for his countrymen, it could not be doubted, he said, but that they were overjoyed to see him: (it seems he was the principal man among them, the captain of the vessel they had been shipwrecked in having been dead some time.) They were, he said, the more surprized to see him, because they knew he was fallen into the hands of savages, who, they were satisfied, would devour him, as they did all the rest of their prisoners: that when he told them the story of his deliverance, and in what manner he was furnished for carrying them away, it was like a dream to them; and their astonishment, they said, was something like that of Joseph's brethren, when he told them who he was, and related the story of his exaltation in Pharaoh's court. But when he shewed them the arms, the powder, the ball, and the provisions that he brought them for their journey or voyage, they were restored to themselves, took a just share of the joy of their deliverance, and immediately prepared to come away with him.

Their first business was to get canoes; and in this they were obliged not to stick so much upon the honest part of it, but to trespass upon their friendly savages, and to borrow two large canoes or periaguas, on pretence of going out a fishing or for pleasure.

In these they came away the next morning. It seems they wanted no time to get themselves ready, for they had no baggage, neither cloaths nor provisions, nor any thing in the world but what they had on them, and a few roots to eat, of which they used to make their bread.

They were in all three weeks absent ; and in that time, unluckily for them, I had the occasion offered for my escape, as I mentioned before, and to get off from the island ; leaving three of the most impudent, hardened, ungovernable, disagreeable villains, behind me, that any man could desire to meet with, to the poor Spaniard's great grief and disappointment, you may be sure.

The only just thing the rogues did, was that when the Spaniards came on shore, they gave my letter to them, and gave them provisions and other relief, as I had ordered them to do ; also they gave them the long paper of directions, which I had left with them, containing the particular methods which I took for managing every part of my life there ; the way I baked my bread, bred up my tame goats and planted my corn ; how I cured my grapes, made my pots, and, in a word, every thing I did ; all this being written down, they gave to the Spaniards, two of whom understood English well enough ; nor did they refuse to accommodate the Spaniards with any thing else, for they agreed very well for some time ; they gave them an equal admission into the house or cave, and they began to live very sociably ; and the head Spaniard, who had seen pretty much of my method, and Friday's father together, managed all their affairs ; for, as for the Englishmen, they did nothing but ramble about the island, shoot parrots, and catch tortoises, and when they came home at night the Spaniards provided their suppers for them.

The Spaniards would have been satisfied with this, would the others but have let them alone ; which, however, they could not find in their hearts to do long, but, like the dog in the manger, they would not eat themselves, and would not let others eat neither. The differences, nevertheless, were at first but trivial, and such as are not worth relating ; but at last it broke out into open war, and it began with all the rudeness and insolence that can be imagined, without reason, without provocation, contrary to nature, and indeed to com-

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mon sense; and though it is true, the first relation of it came from the Spaniards themselves, whom I may call the accusers, yet when I came to examine the fellows, they could not deny a word of it.

But before I come to the particulars of this part, I must supply a defect in my former relation; and this was, that I forgot to set down among the rest, that, just as we were weighing anchor to set sail, there happened a little quarrel on board our ship, which I was afraid once would turn to a second mutiny; nor was it appeased, till the captain, rousing up his courage, and taking us all to his assistance, parted them by force, and making two of the most refractory fellows prisoners, he laid them in irons; and as they had been active in the former disorders, and let fall some dangerous words the second time, he threatened to carry them in irons to England, and have them hanged there for mutiny and running away with the ship.

This it seems, though the captian did not intend to do it, frightened some other men in the ship; and some of them had put it into the heads of the rest, that the captain only gave them good words for the present, till they should come to some English port, and that then they should be all put into a gaol, and tried for their lives.

The mate got intelligence of this, and acquainted us with it; upon which it was desired that I, who still passed for a great man among them, should go down with the mate, and satisfy the men, and tell them, that they might be assured, if they behaved well the rest of the voyage, all they had done for the time past should be pardoned. So I went; and after passing my honour's word to them, they appeared easy; and the more so, when I caused the two men, who had been laid in irons, to be released and forgiven.

But this mutiny had brought us to an anchor for that night, the wind also falling calm. Next morning, we found that our two men who had been laid in irons, had stole each of them a musket, and some other weapons; what powder or shot they had, we knew not; and had taken

taken the ship's pinnace, which was not yet hauled up, and run away with her to their companions in roguery on shore.

As soon as we found this, I ordered the long boat on shore, with twelve men and the mate, and away they went to seek the rogues; but they could neither find them nor any of the rest, for they all fled into the woods when they saw the boat coming on shore. The mate was once resolved in justice to their roguery, to have destroyed their plantations, burnt all their household stuff and furniture, and left them to shift without it; but having no order, he let all alone, left every thing as they found it, and bringing the pinnace away, came on board without them.

These two men made their number five; but the other three villains were so much more wicked than these, that after they had been two or three days together, they turned their two new-comers out of doors to shift for themselves; and would have nothing to do with them; nor could they, for some time, be persuaded to give them any food. As for the Spaniards, they were not yet come.

When the Spaniards came first on shore, the business began to go forward; the Spaniards would have persuaded the three English brutes to have taken in their two countrymen again, that as they said, they might be all one family; but they would not hear of it. So the two poor fellows lived by themselves; and, finding nothing but industry and application would make them live comfortable, they pitched their tents on the north shore of the island, but a little more to the west, to be out of the danger of the savages, who always landed on the east parts of the island.

Here they built two huts, one to lodge in, and the other to lay up their magazines and stores in; and the Spaniards having given them some corn for seed, especially some of the peas which I had left them, they dug, and planted, and inclosed, after the pattern I had set for them all, and began to live pretty well. Their first  
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crop of corn was on the ground ; and, though it was but a little bit of land which they had dug up at first, having had but a short time, yet it was enough to relieve them, and furnish them with bread and other eatables ; and one of the fellows, being the cook's mate of the ship, was very ready at making soup, puddings, and such other preparations, as the rice and milk, and such little flesh as they got, furnished him to do.

They were going on in a little thriving way, when the three unnatural rogues, their own countrymen too, in mere humour, and to insult them, came and bullied them, and told them the island was theirs ; that the governor, meaning me, had given them possession of it, and nobody else had any right to it ; and damn them, they should build no houses upon their ground, unless they would pay them rent for them.

The two men thought they had jested at first : and asked them to come and sit down, and see what fine houses they were that they had built, and tell them what rent they demanded. And one of them merrily told them, if they were ground-landlords, he hoped, if they built tenements upon the land, and made improvements, they would, according to the custom of all landlords, grant them a long lease, and bid them go fetch a scrivener to draw up the writings. One of the three, damning, and raging, told them, they should see they were not in jest ; and going to a little place at a distance, where the honest men had made a fire to dress their victuals, he took a fire-brand, and clapped it to the outside of their hut, and set it on fire ; and it would have been all burnt down in a few minutes, if one of the two had not run to the fellow, thrust him away, and trod the fire out with his feet, and that not without some difficulty.

The fellow was in such a rage at the honest man's thrusting him away, that he turned upon him with a pole he had in his hand ; and had not the man avoided the blow very nimbly, and run into the hut, he had ended his days at once. His comrade, seeing the danger

ger they were both in, ran in after him, and immediately they came both out with their muskets; and the man that was first struck at with the pole, knocked the fellow down who began the quarrel, with the stock of his musket, and that before the other two could come to help him: and then seeing the rest come at them, they stood together, and presenting the other ends of their pieces to them, bade them stand off.

The others had fire-arms with them; but one of the two honest men bolder than his comrade, and made desperate by his danger, told them, if they offered to move hand or foot, they were all dead men, and boldly commanded them to lay down their arms. They did not indeed lay down their arms; but, seeing him resolute, it brought them to a parley, and they consented to take their wounded man with them, and be gone; and, indeed, it seems the fellow was wounded sufficiently with the blow: however, they were much in the wrong, since they had the advantage, that they did not disarm them effectually, as they might have done, and have gone immediately to the Spaniards, and given them an account how the rogues had treated them; for the three villains studied nothing but revenge, and every day gave them some intimation that they did so.

But not to crowd this part with an account of the lesser part of their rogueries; such as treading down their corn, shooting three young kids, and a she-goat, which the poor men had got to breed up tame for their store; and, in a word, plaguing them night and day in this manner; it forced the two men to such a desperation, that they resolved to fight them all three the first time they had a fair opportunity. In order to this they resolved to go to the castle, as they called it, that was my old dwelling, where the three rogues and the Spaniards all lived together at that time, intending to have a fair battle, and the Spaniards should stand by to see fair play. So they got up in the morning before day, and came to the place, and called the Englishmen by their names, telling a Spaniard that answered, that they wanted to speak with them.

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It happened that the day before, two of the Spaniards having been in the woods, had seen one of the two Englishmen, whom, for distinction I call the honest men, and he had made a sad complaint to the Spaniards of the barbarous usage they had met with from their three countrymen, and how they had ruined their plantation, and destroyed their corn that they had laboured so hard to bring forward, and killed their milch-goat and three kids, which was all they had provided for their sustenance; and that if he and his friends, meaning the Spaniards, did not assist them again, they should be starved. When the Spaniards came home at night, and they were all at supper, he took the freedom to reprove the three Englishmen, in gentle and mannerly terms, and asked them how they could be so cruel, they being harmless, inoffensive fellows, and that they were putting themselves in a way to subsist by their labour, and that it had cost them a great deal of pains to bring things to such perfection as they had.

One of the Englishmen returned very briskly—‘What had they to do there?’ that they came on shore without leave; and that they should not plant or build upon the island; it was none of their ground. ‘Why,’ says the Spaniard, very calmly, ‘Seignior Inglese, they must not starve!’ The Englishman replied, like a true rough hewn tarpaulin, they might starve and be damned! they should not plant nor build in that place. ‘But what must they do then, Seignior?’ says the Spaniard. Another of the brutes returned,—‘Do! d—n them! they should be servants, and work for them.’ ‘But how can you expect that of them? They are not bought with your money; you have no right to make them servants.’ The Englishman answered, the island was theirs, the governor had given it to them, and no man had any thing to do there but themselves; and with that swore by his Maker, that he would go and burn all their new huts; they should build none upon their land.

‘Why, Seignior,’ says the Spaniard, ‘by the same rule

‘rule we must be your servants too.’—‘Aye,’ says the bold dog, ‘and so you shall too, before we have done with you;’ mixing two or three G—d damme’s in the proper intervals of his speech. The Spaniard only smiled at that, and made him no answer. However, this little discourse had heated them; and starting up, one says to the other, (I think it was he they called Will Atkins)—‘Come Jack, let us go and have’t other brush with them: We’ll demolish their castle, I’ll warrant you; they shall plant no colony in our do minions.’

Upon this, they were all trooping away, with every man a gun, a pistol and a sword; and muttered some insolent things among themselves, of what they would do to the Spaniards too, when opportunity offered; but the Spaniards, it seems, did not so perfectly understand them as to know all the particulars; only that, in general, they threatened them hard for taking the two Englishmens parts.

Whither they went, or how they bestowed their time that evening, the Spaniards said they did not know; but it seems they wandered about the country part of the night, and then lying down in the place which I used to call my bower, they were weary, and overslept themselves. The case was this: they had resolved to stay till midnight, and so to take the poor men when they were asleep; and they acknowledged it afterwards, intending to set fire to their huts while they were in them, and either burn them in them, or murder them as they came out. And as malice seldom sleeps very sound, it was strange they should not have been kept waking.

However, as the two men had also a design upon them, as I have said, though a much fairer one than that of burning and murdering, it happened, and very luckily for them all, that they were up and gone abroad before the bloody-minded rogues came to their huts.

When they came thither, and found the men gone, Atkins, who, it seems was the forwardest man, called out to his comrades—‘Ha, Jack! here’s the nest; but,

‘d—n



“d—n them, the birds are flown.” They mused awhile to think what should be the occasion of their being gone abroad so soon, and suggested presently, that the Spaniards had given them notice of it; and with that they shook hands, and swore to one another that they would be revenged of the Spaniards. As soon as they had made this bloody bargain, they fell to work with the poor men’s habitation: they did not set fire, indeed, to any thing, but they pulled down both their houses, and pulled them so limb from limb, that they left not the least stick standing, or scarce any sign on the ground where they stood; they tore all their little collected household stuff in pieces, and threw every thing about in such a manner, that the poor men found afterwards, some of their things a mile off from their habitation.

When they had done this; they pulled up all the young trees which the poor men had planted; tore up the inclosure they had made to secure their cattle and their corn; and, in a word, sacked and plundered every thing, as completely as a horde of Tartars would have done.

The two men were at this juncture gone to find them out, and had resolved to fight them wherever they had been, though they were but two to three: so that, had they met, there certainly would have been bloodshed among them; for they were all very stout, resolute fellows, to give them their due.

But Providence took more care to keep them asunder, than they themselves could do to meet; for, as they had dogged one another, when the three were gone thither, the two were here; and afterwards, when the two went back to find them, the three were come to the old habitation again. We shall see their different conduct presently. When the three came back, like furious creatures, flushed with the rage which the work they had been about had put them into, they came up to the Spaniards, and told them what they had done, by way of scoff and bravado; and one of them stepping up to one of the Spaniards, as if they had been a couple of boys

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at play, takes hold of his hat, as it was upon his head, and giving it a twirl about, fleering in his face, says to him—‘ And you, Seignior Jack Spaniard, shall have the same sauce, if you do not mend your manners.’ The Spaniard, who, though quite a civil man, was as brave as a man could be desired to be, and withal a strong well-made man, looked steadily at him for some time; and then, having no weapon in his hand, stepped gravely up to him, and, with one blow of his fist, knocked him down, as an ox is felled with a pole-ax; at which one of the rogues, insolent as the first, fired his pistol at the Spaniard immediately; he missed his body, indeed, for the bullets went through his hair, but one of them touched the tip of his ear, and he bled pretty much. The blood made the Spaniard believe that he was more hurt than he really was, and that put him into some heat, for before he acted all in a perfect calm; but now resolving to go through with his work, he stooped, and took the fellow’s musket whom he had knocked down, and was just going to shoot the man who had fired at him; when the rest of the Spaniards being in the cave, came out, and calling to him not to shoot, they stepped in, secured the other two, and took their arms from them.

When they were thus disarmed, and found they had made all the Spaniards their enemies, as well as their own countrymen, they began to cool; and, giving the Spaniards better words, would have had their arms again; but the Spaniards considering the feud that was between them and the other two Englishmen, and that it would be the best method they could take to keep them from one another, told them they would do them no harm; and if they would live peaceably, they would be very willing to assist and associate with them as they did before; but that they could not think of giving them their arms again, while they appeared so resolved to do mischief with them to their own countrymen, and had even threatened them all to make them their servants.

The rogues were now more capable to hear reason than

than to act reason; but being refused their arms, they went raving away, and raging like madmen, threatening what they would do, though they had no fire-arms. But the Spaniards despising their threatening, told them they should take care how they offered any injury to their plantation or cattle; for, if they did, they would shoot them, as they would do ravenous beasts, wherever they found them; and, if they fell into their hands alive, they would certainly be hanged. However, this was far from cooling them; but away they went, swearing and raging like furies of hell. As soon as they were gone, came back the two men, in passion and rage enough also, though of another kind; for, having been at their plantation, and finding it all demolished and destroyed, as above, it will easily be supposed they had provocation enough: they could scarce have room to tell their tale, the Spaniards were so eager to tell them their's; and it was strange enough to find, that three men should thus bully nineteen, and receive no punishment at all.

The Spaniards, indeed, despised them, and especially having thus disarmed them, made light of their threatenings; but the two Englishmen resolved to have their remedy against them, what pains soever it cost to find them out.

But the Spaniards interposed here too, and told them that they were already disarmed; they could not consent that they (the two) should pursue them with fire arms, and perhaps kill them: 'But,' said the grave Spaniard, who was their governor, 'we will endeavour to make them do you justice, if you will leave it to us; for, as there is no doubt but they will come to us again when their passion is over, being not able to subsist without our assistance, we promise you to make no peace with them, without having a full satisfaction for you; and upon this condition, we hope you will promise to use no violence with them, other than in your defence.'

The two Englishmen yielded to this very awkwardly, and with great reluctance; but the Spaniards protested, they did it only to keep them from bloodshed, and to make all easy at last: 'for,' said they, 'we are not

‘ so many of us ; here is room enough for us all, and  
‘ it is great pity we should not be all good friends.’ At  
length they did consent, and waited for the issue, living  
for some days with the Spaniards, for their own habi-  
tation was destroyed.

In about five days the three vagrants, tired with wan-  
dering, and almost starved with hunger, having chiefly  
lived on turtles eggs all the time, came back to the  
grove ; and finding my Spaniard, who, as I have said,  
was the governor, and two more with him, walking by  
the side of the creek, they came up in a very submissive  
and humble manner, and begged to be received again  
into the family. The Spaniards used them civilly but  
told them, they had acted so unnaturally by their coun-  
trymen, and so very grossly by them, (the Spaniards)  
that they could not come to any conclusion, without  
consulting the two Englishmen and the rest ; but, how-  
ever, they would go to them and discourse about it, and  
they should know in half an hour. It may be guessed,  
that they were very hard put to it ; for it seems, as they  
were to wait half an hour for an answer, they begged he  
would send them out some bread in the mean time ;  
which he did, and sent them at the same time a large  
piece of goat’s flesh, and a broiled parrot ; which they  
eat very heartily, for they were hungry enough.

After half an hour’s consultation they were called in  
and a long debate had about them, their two countrymen  
charging them with the ruin of all their labour, and a  
design to murder them ; all which they owned before,  
and therefore could not deny now. Upon the whole,  
the Spaniards acted as moderators between them ; and  
as they had obliged the two Englishmen not to hurt  
the three, while they were naked and unarmed, so they  
now obliged the three to go and rebuild their fellows  
two huts, one to be of the same dimensions, and the  
other larger than they were before ; also to fence their  
ground again, where they had pulled up the fences, plant  
trees in the room of those pulled up, dig up the land  
again for planting corn, where they had spoiled it ; and

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in a word, to restore every thing to the same state as they found it, as near as they could; for entirely it could not be, the season for the corn, and the growth of the trees and hedges not being possible to be recovered.

They all submitted to this; and as they had plenty of provisions given them all the while, they grew very orderly, and the whole society began to live pleasantly and agreeably together again; only these three fellows could never be persuaded to work; I mean, not for themselves, except now and then a little, just as they pleased: however, the Spaniards told them plainly, that if they would but live sociably and friendly together, and study on the whole the good of the plantation, they would be content to work for them, and let them walk about and be as idle as they pleased; and thus having lived pretty well together for a month or two, the Spaniards gave them their arms again, and also liberty to go abroad with them as before.

It was not above a week after they had these arms, and went abroad, but the ungrateful creatures began to be as insolent and troublesome as before; however, an accident happened presently upon this, which endangered the safety of them all; they were obliged to lay by all private resentments, and look to the preservation of their lives.

It happened one night, that the Spanish governor, as I call him, that is to say, the Spaniard whose life I had saved, who was now the captain, or leader, or governor of the rest, found himself very uneasy in the night, and could by no means get any sleep: he was perfectly well in body, as he told me the story, only found his thoughts tumultuous; his mind ran upon men fighting, and killing one another, but was broad awake, and could not by any means get any sleep; in short, he lay a great while; but, growing more and more uneasy, he resolved to rise. As they slept, being so many of them, upon goat-skins, laid thick upon such couches and pads as they made for themselves, and not in hammocks and ship-beds, as I did, who was but one; so they had lit-

tle to do when they were willing to rise, but to get upon their feet, and perhaps put on a coat, such as it was, and their pumps, and they were ready for going any way that their thoughts guided them.

Being thus gotten up, he looked out ; but, being dark, he could see little or nothing ; and besides, the trees which I had planted, as described in my former account, and which were now grown tall, intercepted his sight, so that he could only look up, and see that it was a clear star-light night ; and hearing no noise, he returned and laid him down again ; but it was all one, he could not sleep, nor could he compose himself to rest, but his thoughts were to the last degree uneasy, and yet he knew not for what.

Having made some noise with rising and walking about, going out and coming in, another of them waked and asked who it was that was up. The governor told him how it had been with him. ‘ Say you so ? ’ says the other Spaniard ; ‘ such things are not to be slighted, I assure you ; there is certainly some mischief working,’ says he, ‘ near us.’ And presently he asked him— ‘ Where are the Englishmen ? ’— ‘ They are all in their huts,’ says he, ‘ safe enough.’ It seems, the Spaniards had possession of the main apartment, and had made a place where the three Englishmen, since their last mutiny, always quartered by themselves, and could not come at the rest. ‘ Well,’ says the Spaniard, ‘ there is something in it, I am persuaded from my own experience ; I am satisfied our spirits embodied have converse with, and receive intelligence from, the spirits unembodied, and inhabiting the invisible world ; and this friendly notice is given for our advantage, if we know how to make use of it. Come,’ says he, ‘ let us go out and look abroad ; and if we find nothing at all in it to justify our trouble, I’ll tell you a story to the purpose, that shall convince you of the justice of my proposing it.’

In a word, they went out to go to the top of the hill, where I used to go ; but they, being strong, and in good

good company, not alone, as I was, used none of my precautions to go up by the ladder, and then pulling it up after them, to go up to a second stage to the top, but were going round through the grove unconcerned, and unwary, when they were surprized at seeing a light, as of fire, a very little way off from them, and hearing the voices of men, not of one or two, but of a great number.

In all the discoveries I had made of the savages landing on the island, it was my constant care to prevent them making the least discovery of their being any inhabitant upon the place; and when by any necessity, they came to know it, they felt it so effectually, that those who got away were scarce able to give any account of it, for we disappeared as soon as possible; nor did ever any that had seen me, escape to tell any one else, except it were the three savages in our last encounter, who jumped into the boat, of whom I mentioned, that I was afraid they should go home and bring more help.

Whether it was the consequence of the escape of these men, that so great a number came now together; or whether they came ignorantly and by accident, on their usual bloody errand, the Spaniards could not, it seems, understand: but whatever it was, it had been their business either to have concealed themselves, and not have seen them at all; much less to have let the savages have seen that there were any inhabitants in the place; but to have fallen upon them so effectually, as that not a man of them should have escaped, which could only have been by getting in between them and their boats; but this presence of mind was wanting to them, which was the ruin of their tranquillity for a great while.

We need not doubt, but that the governor and the man with him, surprized at this sight, ran back immediately and raised their fellows, giving them an account of the imminent danger they were in; and they again as readily took the alarm, but it was impossible to persuade them to stay close within where they were, but they must all run out to see how things stood.

While it was dark, indeed, they were well enough, and they had opportunity enough, for some hours, to view them by the light of three fires they had made at some distance from one another. What they were doing they knew not, and what to do for themselves they knew not; for, first, the enemy were too many; and, secondly, they did not keep together, but were divided into several parties, and were on shore in several places.

The Spaniards were in no small consternation at this sight, and as they found that the fellows ran straggling all over the shore, they made no doubt but first or last some of them would find their habitation, or discover some other place, where they would see the tokens of inhabitants; and they were in great perplexity also for fear of their flock of goats, which would have been little less than starving them, if they should have been destroyed; so the first thing they resolved upon was, to dispatch three men away, before it was light, viz. two Spaniards and one Englishman, to drive all the goats away to the great valley where the cave was, and, if need were, to drive them into the very cave itself.

Could they have seen the savages all together in one body, and at a distance from their canoes, they resolved if there had been a hundred of them, to have attacked them: but that could not be obtained, for they were some of them two miles off from the other, and, as it appeared afterwards, were of two different nations.

After having mused a great while on the course they should take, and racking their brains in considering their present circumstances, they resolved at last, while it was dark, to send the old savage, (Friday's father) out as a spy, to learn, if possible, something concerning them, as what they came for, and what they intended to do, and the like. The old man readily undertook it, and stripping himself quite naked, as most of the savages were, away he went: after he had been gone an hour or two, he brings word, that he had been among them undiscovered; that he  
found



found they were two parties, and of two several nations, who had war with one another, and had had a great battle in their own country, and that both sides having had several prisoners taken in the fight, they were, by mere chance landed in the same island, for the devouring their prisoners, and making merry; but their coming so by chance to the same place, had spoiled all their mirth; that they were in a great rage at one another, and were so near, that he believed they would fight again as soon as day-light began to appear; but he did not perceive that they had any notion of any body's being on the island but themselves. He had hardly made an end of telling the story, when they could perceive, by the unusual noise they made, that the two little armies were engaged in a bloody fight.

Friday's father used all the arguments he could to persuade our people to lie close, and not be seen; he told them, their safety consisted in it, and that they had nothing to do but to lie still, and the savages would kill one another to their hands, and the rest would go away; and it was so to a tittle. But it was impossible to prevail, especially upon the Englishmen; their curiosity was so importunate for the event, that they must run out and see the battle. However, they used some caution, viz. they did not go openly, just by their own dwelling, but went farther into the woods, and placed themselves to advantage, where they might securely see them manage the fight, and, as they thought, not to be seen by them; but, it seems, the savages did see them, as we shall find hereafter.

The battle was very fierce; and if I might believe the Englishmen, one of them said, he could perceive that some of them were men of great bravery, of invincible spirits, and of great policy in managing the fight. The battle, they said, held two hours, before they could guess which party would be beaten: but that party which was nearest our people's habitation, began to appear weakest, and after some time more, some of them began to fly; and this put our men again into a great consternation,

consternation, lest any of those that fled should run into the grove before their dwelling for shelter, and thereby involuntarily discover the place; and that by consequence the pursuers should do the like in search of them. Upon this they resolved, that they would stand armed within the wall, and whoever came into the grove, they should sally out over the wall and kill them; so that, if possible, not one should return to give an account of it. They ordered also, that it should be done with their swords, or by knocking them down with the stock of the musket, not by shooting them, for fear of raising an alarm by the noise.

As they expected, it fell out; three of the routed army fled for life and crossing the creek, ran directly into the place, not in the least knowing whither they went, but running as into a thick wood for shelter: the scout they kept to look abroad gave notice of this within, with this addition, to our men's great satisfaction, viz. that the conquerors had not pursued them, or seen which way they were gone. Upon this the Spanish governor, a man of humanity, would not suffer them to kill the three fugitives; but, sending three men out by the top of the hill, ordered them to go round, and coming in behind them, surprize and take them prisoners, which was done; the residue of the conquered people fled to their canoes, and got off to sea; the victors retired, and made no pursuit, or very little; but drawing themselves into a body together, gave two great screaming shouts, which they supposed were by way of triumph, and so the fight ended: and the same day, about three o'clock in the afternoon, they also marched to their canoes. And thus the Spaniards had their island again free to themselves, their fright was over, and they saw no savages for several years after.

After they were all gone, the Spaniards came out of their den; and viewing the field of battle, they found about two and thirty dead men upon the spot; some were killed with great long arrows, several of which were found sticking in their bodies; but most of them  
were

were killed with their great wooden swords, sixteen or seventeen of which they found in the field of battle, and as many bows, with a great many arrows. These swords were great unwieldy weapons, and they must be very strong men that used them. Most of those men that were killed, had their heads mashed to pieces, as we may say, or as we may call it in English, their brains knocked out and several of their arms and legs broken; so that it is evident they fight with inexpressible rage and fury. They found not one wounded man that was not stone dead; for either they stay by their enemy till they have quite killed him, or they carry all the wounded men, that are not quite dead, away with them.

This deliverance tamed our Englishmen for a great while: the sight had filled them with sorrow, and the consequence appeared terrible to the last degree, especially upon supposing that some time or other they should fall into the hands of those creatures; who would not only kill them as enemies, but kill them for food, as we kill our cattle. And they professed to me, that the thoughts of being eaten up like beef or mutton, though it was supposed it was not to be till they were dead, had something in it so horrible, that it nauseated their very stomachs, made them sick when they thought of it, and filled their minds with unusual terror, that they were not themselves for some weeks after.

This, as I said, tamed even the three English brutes I have been speaking of; and for a great while after they were very tractable, and went about the common business of the whole society well enough; planted, sowed, reaped, and began to be all naturalized to the country; but some time after this, they fell all into such simple measures again as brought them into a great deal of trouble.

They had taken three prisoners, as I have observed; and these three being lusty stout young fellows, they made them servants, and taught them to work for them, and as slaves, they did well enough; but they did not  
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take measures with them as I did by my man Friday; viz. to begin with them upon the principle of having saved their lives, and then instructed them in the rational principles of life, much less of religion, civilizing and reducing them by kind usage, and affectionate arguments; but, as they gave them their food every day, so they gave them their work too, and kept them fully employed in drudgery; but they failed in this by it, that they never had them to assist them and fight for them, as I had my man Friday, who was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones.

But to come to the family part. Being all now good friends, (for common danger, as I said above, had effectually reconciled them) they began to consider their general circumstances; and the first thing that came under their consideration was, whether, seeing the savages particularly haunted that side of the island, and that there were more remote and retired parts of it equally adapted to their way of living, and manifestly to their advantage, they should not rather remove their habitation, and plant in some more proper place for their safety, and especially for the security of their cattle and corn.

Upon this, after long debate, it was conceived, that they should not remove their habitation; because that some time or other they thought they might hear from their governor again, meaning me; and if I should send any one to seek them, I would be sure to direct them on that side, where, if they should find the place demolished, they would conclude the savages had killed us all, and we were gone, and so our supply would go away too.

But as to their corn and cattle, they agreed to remove them into the valley where my cave was, where the land was as proper to both, and where indeed there was land enough. However, upon second thoughts, they altered one part of that resolution too, and resolved only to remove part of their cattle thither, and plant part of their corn there, and so, if one part was destroyed,



stroyed, the other might be saved. One piece of prudence they used, which it was very well they did, viz. that they had never trusted these three savages, which they had taken prisoners, with knowing any thing of the plantation they had made in that valley, or of any cattle they had there; much less of the cave, which they kept in case of necessity, as a safe retreat: and thither they carried also the two barrels of powder, which I had sent them at my coming away.

But, however, they resolved not to change their habitation; yet they agreed, that as I had carefully covered it first with a wall of fortification, and then with a grove of trees; so, seeing their safety consisted entirely in their being concealed, of which they were now fully convinced, they set to work to cover and conceal the place yet more effectually than before. To this purpose, as I had planted trees (or rather thrust in stakes, which in time all grew to be trees) for some good distance before the entrance into my apartment, they went on in the same manner, and filled up the rest of that whole space of ground, from the trees I had set, quite down to the side of the creek, where, as I said, I landed my floats, and even into the very ouze where the tide flowed, not so much as leaving any place to land, or any sign that there had been any landing thereabout. These stakes also, being of a wood very forward to grow, they took care to have generally much larger and taller than those which I had planted, and placed them so very thick and close, that when they had been three or four years grown, there was no piercing with the eye any considerable way into the plantation. As for that part which I had planted, the trees were grown as thick as a man's thigh; and among them they placed so many other short ones, and so thick, that it stood like a pallisado a quarter of a mile thick, and it was next to impossible to penetrate it, but with a little army, to cut it all down; for a little dog could hardly get between the trees, they stood so close.

But this was not all; for they did the same by all  
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the ground to the right-hand, and to the left, and round even to the top of the hill; leaving no way, not so much as for themselves to come out, but by the ladder placed up to the side of the hill, and then lifted up, and placed again from the first stage up to the top; which ladder, when it was taken down, nothing but what had wings or witchcraft to assist it, could come at them.

This was excellently well contrived: nor was it less than what they afterwards found occasion for; which served to convince me, that as human prudence has authority of Providence to justify it, so it has, doubtless, the direction of Providence to set it to work; and, would we listen carefully to the voice of it, I am fully persuaded we might prevent many of the disasters which our lives are now by our own negligence subjected to.

To return to the story. They lived two years after this in perfect retirement, and had no more visits from the savages; they had, indeed, an alarm given them one morning, which put them in a great consternation; for, some of the Spaniards being out early one morning on the west side, or rather end of the island, which was that end where I never went, for fear of being discovered, they were surprised with seeing about twenty canoes of Indians just coming on shore.

They made the best of their way home, and giving the alarm to their comrades, kept close all that day and the next, going out only at night, to make observation. But they had the good luck to be mistaken; for wherever the savages went, they did not land at that time on the island, but pursued some other design.

And now they had another broil with the three Englishmen; one of which, a most turbulent fellow, being in a rage at one of the three slaves, which they had taken, because the fellow had not done something right which he bid him do, and seemed a little untractable in his shewing him, drew a hatchet out of a frog belt, in which he wore it by his side, and fell upon the poor  
savage

savage, not to correct him, but to kill him. One of the Spaniards, who was by, seeing him give the fellow a barbarous cut with the hatchet, which he aimed at his head, but struck it into his shoulder, so that he thought he had cut the poor creature's arm off, ran to him, and intreating him not to murder the poor man, stepped in between him and the savage, to prevent the mischief.

The fellow being enraged the more at this, struck at the Spaniard with his hatchet, and swore he would serve him as he intended to serve the savage; which the Spaniard perceiving, avoided the blow, and with a shovel, which he had in his hand, (for they were working in the field about their corn-land) knocked the brute down; another of the Englishmen, running at the same time to help his comrade, knocked the Spaniard down; and then two Spaniards more came to help their man, and a third Englishman fell upon them. They had none of them any fire-arms, or any other weapons but hatchets and other tools, except the third Englishman; he had one of my old rusty cutlasses, with which he made at the last Spaniards, and wounded them both. This fray set the whole family in an uproar, and more help coming in, they took the three Englishmen prisoners. The next question was, What should be done with them? They had been so often mutinous, and were so furious, so desperate and so idle withal, that that they knew not what course to take with them, for they were mischievous to the highest degree, and valued not what hurt they did any man; so that in short, it was not safe to live with them.

The Spaniard who was governor, told them, that if they had been his own countrymen, he would have hanged them all; for all laws, and all governors, were to preserve society; and those who were dangerous to the society, ought to be expelled out of it: but, as they were Englishmen, and it was to the generous kindness of an Englishman that they all owed their preservation and deliverance, he would use them with all possible lenity, and leave them to the judgment of

the other two Englishmen, who were their countrymen. One of the two honest Englishmen stood up, and said, they desired it might not be left to them: 'For (says he) I am sure we ought to sentence them to the gallows.' And with that gave an account, how Will Atkins, one of the three, had proposed to have all the five Englishmen join together, and murder all the Spaniards when they were asleep.

When the Spanish governor heard this he calls to Will Atkins. 'How, Seignior Atkins, (says he) will you murder us all! What have you to say to that?' That hardened villain was so far from denying it, that he said it was true; and G—d damn him, they would do it still before they had done with them. 'Well, but Seignior Atkins, (said the Spaniard) what have we done to you, that you will kill us? And what would you get by killing us? And what must we do to prevent your killing us? Must we kill you, or will you kill us? Why will you put us to the necessity of this, Seignior Atkins?' says the Spaniard calmly, and smiling.

Seignior Atkins was in such a rage at the Spaniard's making a jest of it, that, had he not been held by three men, and withal had no weapons with him, it was thought he would have attempted to have killed the Spaniard in the middle of all the company.

This hair-brained conduct obliged them to consider seriously what was to be done. The two Englishmen, and the Spaniard who saved the poor savage, were of the opinion, that they should hang one of the three for an example to the rest; and that particularly it should be he that had twice attempted to commit murder with his hatchet; and indeed there was some reason to believe he had done it, for the poor savage was in such a miserable condition with the wound he had received, that it was thought he could not live.

But the governor Spaniard still said, no, it was an Englishman that had saved all their lives, and he would never consent to put an Englishman to death, though he had murdered half of them; nay, he said, if he had  
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been killed himself by an Englishman, and had time left to speak, it should be, that they should pardon him.

This was so positively insisted on by the governor Spaniard, that there was no resisting it; and, as merciful counsels are most apt to prevail, where they are so earnestly pressed, so they all came into it; but then it was to be considered, what should be done to keep them from the mischief they designed; for all agreed, governor and all, that means were to be used for preserving the society from danger. After a long debate it was agreed, First, That they should be disarmed, and not permitted to have either gun, or powder, or shot, or sword, or any weapon, and should be turned out of the society, and left to live where they would, and how they could, by themselves; but that none of the rest, either Spaniards or English, should converse, or have any thing to do with them; that they should be forbid to come within a certain distance of the place where the rest dwelt; and that if they offered to commit any disorder, so as to spoil, burn, kill, or destroy any of the corn, plantings, buildings, fences, or cattle belonging to the society, that they should die without mercy, and they should shoot them wherever they could find them.

The governor, a man of great humanity, musing upon the sentence, considered a little upon it; and, turning to the two honest Englishmen, said,—‘Hold! you must reflect, that it will be long ere they can raise corn and cattle of their own, and they must not starve; we must therefore allow them provisions.’ So he caused to be added, That they should have a proportion of corn given to them to last them eight months, and for seed to sow, by which time they might be supposed to raise some of their own; that they should have six milch-goats, four he-goats, and six kids given them, as well for present subsistence, as for a store; and that they should have tools given them for their work in the field; such as, six hatchets, an ax, a saw, and the like: but they should have none of these tools or provisions, unless they would swear

solemnly, that they would not hurt or injure any of the Spaniards with them, or of their fellow Englishmen.

Thus they dismissed them the society, and turned them out to shift for themselves. They went away sullen and refractory, as neither contented to go away, or to stay; but as there was no remedy, they went, pretending to go and chuse a place where they should settle themselves, to plant, and live by themselves; and some provisions were given them, but no weapons.

About four or five days after, they came again for some victuals, and gave the governor an account where they had pitched their tents, and marked themselves out a habitation or plantation. It was a very convenient place, indeed, on the remotest part of the island, N. E. much about the place where I providentially landed in my first voyage, when I was driven out to sea, the Lord alone knows whither, in my foolish attempt to surround the island.

Here they built themselves two handsome huts, and contrived them in a manner like my first habitation, being close under the side of a hill, having some trees growing already to the three sides of it; so that by planting others, it would be very easily covered from the sight, unless narrowly searched for. They desired some dry goat-skins for beds and covering, which were given them; and, upon their giving their words that they would not disturb the rest, or injure any of their plantations, they gave them hatchets, and what other tools they could spare: some peas, barley, and rice, for sowing; and, in a word, any thing they wanted, but arms and ammunition.

They lived in this separate condition about six months, and had got in their first harvest, though the quantity was but small, the parcel of land they planted being but little; for, indeed, having all their plantation to form, they had a great deal of work upon their hands; and when they came to make boards, and pots, and such things, they were quite out of their element, and could  
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make nothing of it ; and when the rainy season came on, for want of a cave in the earth, they could not keep their grain dry, and it was in great danger of spoiling : and this humbled them much ; so they came and begged the Spaniards to help them, which they very readily did ; and in four days worked a great hole in the side of the hill for them, large enough to secure their corn and other things from the rain ; but it was but a poor place at best, compared to mine ; and especially as mine was then ; for the Spaniards had greatly enlarged it, and made several new apartments in it.

About three quarters of a year after this separation, a new frolic seized these rogues, which, together with the former villainy they had committed, brought mischief enough upon them, and had very near been the ruin of the whole colony. The three new associates began, it seems, to be weary of the laborious life they led, and that without hope of bettering their circumstances, and a whim took them, that they would make a voyage to the continent from whence the savages came, and would try if they could not seize upon some prisoners among the natives there, and bring them home, so as to make them do the laborious part of the work for them.

The project was not so preposterous had they gone no farther ; but they did nothing, and proposed nothing, but what had either mischief in the design, or mischief in the event : and, if I may give my opinion, they seemed to be under a judgment from Heaven ; for if we will not allow a visible curse to pursue visible crimes, how shall we reconcile the events of things with Divine Justice ? It was, certainly an apparent vengeance on their crime of mutiny and piracy, that brought them to the state they were in ; and as they shewed not the least remorse for the crime, but added new villainies to it, such as, particularly, that piece of monstrous cruelty of wounding a poor slave, because he did not, or perhaps could not, understand to do what he was directed ; and to wound him in such a manner, as made him a cripple all his life ; and in a place where no surgeon

or medicine could be had for his cure; and what was still worse, the murderous intent; or, to do justice to the crime, the intentional murder; for such to be sure it was, as was afterwards the formed design they all laid, to murder the Spaniards in cold blood, and in their sleep.

But to return to the story. The three fellows came down to the Spaniards one morning, and in very humble terms desired to be admitted to speak with them. The Spaniards very readily heard what they had to say, which was this: that they were tired of living in the manner they did; that they were not handy enough to make the necessaries they wanted; and that, having no help they found they should be starved; but if the Spaniards would give them leave to take one of the canoes that they came over in, and give them arms and ammunition proportioned for their defence, they would go over to the main and seek their fortune, and so free them from the trouble of supplying them with any other provisions.

The Spaniards were glad enough to be rid of them, but yet very honestly represented to them the certain destruction they were running into; told them, they had suffered such hardships upon that very spot, that they could, without any spirit of prophecy, tell them, that they would be starved or murdered; and bade them consider of it.

The men replied audaciously, they should be starved if they staid here, for they could not work, and would not work; and they could but be starved abroad; and if they were murdered, there was an end of them, they had no wives or children to cry after them; and, in short, insisted importunately upon their demand, declaring that they would go, whether they would give them any arms or not.

The Spaniards told them, with great kindness, that if they were resolved to go, they should not go like naked men, and be in no condition to defend themselves; and that though they could ill spare their fire-arms,



arms, having not enough for themselves, yet they could let them have two musquets, a pistol, and a cutlass, and each man a hatchet, which they thought was sufficient for them.

In a word, they accepted the offer; and having baked them bread enough to serve them a month, and given them as much goats-flesh as they could eat while it was sweet, and a great basket full of dried grapes, a pot full of fresh water, and a young kid alive to kill, they boldly set out in a canoe for a voyage over the sea, where it was at least forty miles broad.

The boat was indeed a large one, and would have very well carried fifteen or twenty men; and therefore was rather too big for them to manage: but as they had a fair breeze, and the flood-tide with them, they did well enough. They had made a mast of a long pole, and a sail of four large goat-skins dried, which they had sewed or laced together; and away they went merrily enough. The Spaniards called after them, '*Bon voyage!*' and no man ever thought of seeing them more.

The Spaniards would often say to one another, and the two honest Englishmen who remained behind, how quiet and comfortably they lived now those three turbulent fellows were gone. As for their ever coming again, that was the remotest thing from their thoughts that could be imagined: when behold! after twenty-two days absence, one of the Englishmen being abroad upon his planting work, saw three strange men coming towards him at a distance, two of them with guns upon their shoulders.

Away ran the Englishman as if he was bewitched, and came frightened and amazed to the governor Spaniard, telling them they were all undone, for there were strangers landed upon the island, he could not tell who. The Spaniard pausing a-while, said to him,—'How do you mean you cannot tell who? They are savages, to be sure.'—'No, no,' says the Englishman, 'they are men in cloaths with arms.'—'Nay, then,' says the Spaniard, 'why are you concerned; If they are not  
' savages,

‘ savages they must be friends ; for there is no Christian nation upon earth but will do us good rather than harm.’

While they were debating thus, came the three Englishmen, and standing without the wood, which was new planted, hallooed to them. They presently knew their voices ; and so all wonder of that kind ceased. But now the admiration was turned upon another question ; viz. What could be the matter, and what made them come back again.

It was not long before they brought the men in ; and enquiring where they had been, and what they had been doing ; they gave them a full account of their voyage, in a few words, viz. That they reached the land in two days, or something less ; but, finding the people alarmed at their coming, and preparing with bows and arrows to fight them, they durst not go on shore, but sailed on to the northward six or seven hours, till they came to a great opening, by which they perceived that the land they saw from our island was not the main, but an island ; that entering that opening of the sea, they saw another island on the right hand, north, and several more west ; and, being resolved to land somewhere, they put over to one of the islands which lay west, and went boldly on shore ; that they found the people were courteous and friendly to them, and they gave them several roots and some dried fish, and appeared very sociable ; and the women as well as the men, were very forward to supply them with any thing they could get for them to eat, and brought it to them a great way upon their heads.

They continued here four days, and enquired, as well as they could of them by signs, what nations were this way, and that way ; and were told of several fierce and terrible people, that lived almost every way ; who, as they made known by signs to them, used to eat men’s but as for themselves, they said that they never eat men or women, except only such as they took in the wars ; and then they owned, that they made a great feast, and eat their prisoners.

Then

The Englishmen enquired, when they had a feast of that kind. They told them, two moons ago, pointing to the moon and then to two fingers; and that their great king had two hundred prisoners now, which he had taken in his war, and that they were feeding them to make them fat for the next feast. The Englishmen seemed mighty desirous to see those prisoners; but the others, mistaking them, thought they were desirous to have some of them, to carry away for their own eating. So they beckoned to them, pointing to the setting of the sun, and then to the rising, which was to signify, that the next morning, at sun-rising, they would bring some for them: and, accordingly, the next morning, they brought down five women and eleven men, and gave them to the Englishmen, to carry with them on their voyage, just as we would bring so many cows and oxen down to a sea-port town to victual a ship.

As brutish and barbarous as these fellows were at home, their stomachs turned at this sight, and they did not know what to do: to refuse the prisoners would have been the highest affront to the savage gentry that offered them; and what to do with them they knew not; however, upon some debate, they resolved to accept of them; and, in return, they gave the savages that brought them one of their hatchets, an old key, a knife, and six or seven of their bullets; which, though they did not understand, they seemed extremely pleased with: and then, tying the poor creatures hands behind them, they (the people) dragged the prisoners into the boat for our men.

The Englishmen were obliged to come away as soon as they had them, or else they that gave them this noble present would certainly have expected that they should have gone to work with them, have killed two or three of them the next morning, and perhaps have invited the donors to dinner.

But, having taken their leave, with all the respect and thanks that could well pass between people, where, on either side, they understood not one word they could say,

say, they put off with their boat, and came back towards the first island; where, when they arrived, they set eight of their prisoners at liberty, there being too many of them for their occasion.

In their voyage they endeavoured to have some communication with their prisoners; but it was impossible to make them understand any thing; nothing they could say to them, or give them, or do for them, but was looked upon as going about to murder them. They first of all unbound them; but the poor creatures screamed at that, especially the women, as if they had just felt the knife at their throats; for they immediately concluded they were unbound on purpose to be killed.

If they gave them any thing to eat, it was the same thing: then they concluded it was for fear they should sink in flesh, and so not be fat enough to kill; if they looked at one of them more particularly, the party presently concluded, it was to see whether he or she was fattest and fittest to kill first; nay, after they had brought them quite over, and began to use them kindly, and treat them well, still they expected every day to make a dinner or supper for their new masters.

When the three wanderers had given this unaccountable history or journal of their voyage, the Spaniard asked them where their new family was; and being told that they had brought them on shore, and put them into one of their huts, and were come to beg some victuals for them; they (the Spaniards) and the other two Englishmen, that is to say the whole colony, resolved to go down to the place, and see them; they accordingly did so, and took Friday's father with them.

When they came into the hut, there they sat all bound; for when they had brought them on shore, they bound their hands, that they might not take the boat and make their escape; there, I say they sat, all of them stark-naked. First, there were three men, lusty, comely fellows, well-shaped, straight, and fair limbs, about thirty to thirty five years of age; and five women, whereof two might be from thirty to forty; two more

not



not above twenty-four or twenty-five; and the fifth a tall, comely maiden, about sixteen or seventeen. The women were well-favoured, agreeable persons, both in shape and features, only tawny; and two of them, had they been perfectly white, would have passed for handsome women, even in London itself, having very pleasant agreeable countenances, and of a very modest behaviour, especially when they came afterwards to be cloathed, and dressed, as they call it, though that dress was very indifferent it must be confessed; of which hereafter.

The sight, you may be sure was something uncouth to our Spaniards, who were (to give them a just character) men of the best behaviour, of the most calm, sedate tempers, and perfect good-humour, that ever I met with; and, in particular, were possessed of a great share of modesty: I say, the sight was very uncouth, to see two naked men, and five naked women, all together bound, and in the most miserable circumstances that human nature could be supposed to be; expecting every moment to be dragged out, and have their brains knocked out, and then to be eaten up like a calf that is killed for a dainty.

The first thing they did, was to cause the old Indian, Friday's father, to go in and see first if he knew any of them, and then if he understood any of their speech. As soon as the old man came in, he looked seriously at them, but knew none of them; neither could any of them understand a word he said, or a sign he could make, except one of the women.

However, this was enough to answer the end, which was to satisfy them, that the men into whose hands they were fallen were Christians; that they abhorred eating men or women, and that they might be sure they would not be killed. As soon as they were assured of this, they discovered such a joy, and by such awkward and various ways, as is hard to describe; for it seems they were of several nations.

The woman, who was their interpreter, was bid, in the

the next place, to ask them if they were willing to be servants, and to work for the men who had brought them away to save their lives? At which they all fell a dancing; and presently one fell to taking up this, and another that, any thing that lay next, to carry on their shoulders, to intimate that they were willing to work.

The governor, who found that the having women among them, would presently be attended with some inconvenience, and might occasion some strife, and perhaps blood, asked the three men what they intended to do with these women, and how they proposed to use them, whether as servants, or as women. One of the Englishmen answered very boldly and readily, that they would use them as both. To which the governor said, — ‘I am not going to restrain you from it; you are your own masters as to that: but this I think is but just, for avoiding disorders and quarrels among you, and I desire it of you for that reason only; viz. that you will all engage, that if any of you take any of these women, as a woman or wife, he shall take but one; and that, having taken one, none else shall touch her; for though we cannot marry any of you, yet it is but reasonable, that while you stay here, the woman any of you takes, should be maintained by the man who takes her, and should be his wife; I mean,’ says he, ‘while he continues here; and that none else should have any thing to do with her.’ All this appeared so just, that every one agreed to it without any difficulty.

Then the Englishmen asked the Spaniards, if they designed to take any of them. But every one answered, ‘No.’ Some of them said they had wives in Spain, and others did not like women that were not Christians; and altogether declared that they would not touch one of them; which was an instance of such virtue, as I have not met with in all my travels. On the other hand, to be short, the five Englishmen took them every one a wife; that is to say a temporary wife; and so they set up a new form of living; for the Spaniards

Spaniards and Friday's father lived in my old habitation, which they had enlarged exceedingly within; the three servants, which they had taken in the late battle of the savages, lived with them; and these carried on the main part of the colony, supplying all the rest with food, and assisting them with any thing as they could, or as they found necessity required.

But the wonder of this story was, how five such refractory ill-matched fellows should agree about these women, and that two of them should not pitch upon the same woman, especially seeing two or three of them were without comparison, more agreeable than the others: but they took a good way enough to prevent quarrelling among themselves; for they set the five women by themselves in one of their huts, and they went all into the other hut, and drew lots among them who should chuse first.

He that drew to chuse first, went away by himself to the hut where the poor naked creatures were, and fetched out her he chose; and it was worth observing, that he that chose first, took her that was reckoned the homeliest and ugliest of the five, which made mirth enough among the rest; and even the Spaniards laughed at it: but the fellow considered better than any of them, that it was application and business that they were to expect assistance in, as much as any thing else; and she proved the best wife among them.

When the poor women saw themselves set in a row thus, and fetched out one by one, the terrors of their condition returned upon them again, and they firmly believed that they were now going to be devoured. Accordingly, when the English sailor came in and fetched out one of them, the rest set up a most lamentable cry, and hung about her, and took their leave of her with such agonies, and such affection, as would have grieved the hardest heart in the world; nor was it possible for the Englishmen to satisfy them that they were not to be immediately murdered, till they fetched the old man, Friday's father, who instantly let them know, that the

five men, who had fetched them out one by one, had chosen them for their wives.

When they had done this, and the fright the women were in, was a little over, the men went to work, and the Spaniards came and helped them; and, in a few hours, they had built them every one a new hut or tent for their lodging apart; for those they had already were crouded with their tools, household-stuff and provisions: the three wicked ones had pitched farthest off, and the two honest ones nearer, but both on the north-shore of the island, so that they continued separate as before: and thus my island was peopled in three places; and, as I might say, three towns were begun to be planted.

And here it is very well worth observing, that, as it often happens in the world, (what the wise ends of God's Providence are in such a disposition of things, I cannot say) the two honest fellows had the two worst wives; and the three reprobates, that were scarce worth hanging, that were fit for nothing, and neither seemed born to do themselves good, or any one else, had three decent, diligent, careful, and ingenious wives; not that the two first were ill wives as to their temper or humour, for all the five were most willing, quiet, passive, and subjected creatures, rather like slaves than wives; but my meaning is, they were not alike capable, ingenious, or industrious, or alike cleanly and neat.

Another observation I must make, to the honour of a diligent application on the one hand, and to the disgrace of a slothful, negligent, idle temper on the other, that when I came to the place, and viewed the several improvements, planting, and management of the several little colonies, the two men had so far outgone the three, that there was no comparison. They had, indeed, both of them as much ground laid out for corn as they wanted; and the reason was, because, according to my rule, nature dictated, that it was to no purpose to sow more corn than they wanted; but the difference of the cultivation, of the planting, of the fences, and indeed of every thing else, was easy to be seen at first view.

The



The two men had innumerable young trees planted about their huts, that when you came to the place, nothing was to be seen but a wood; and though they had their plantation twice demolished, once by their own countrymen, and once by the enemy, as will be shewn in its proper place, yet they had restored all again, and every thing was flourishing and thriving about them; they had grapes planted in order, and managed like a vineyard, though they had themselves never seen any thing of that kind; and by their good ordering their vines, their grapes were as good again as any of the others. They had also found themselves a retreat in the thickest part of the woods, where, though there was not a natural cave, as I had found; yet they made one with incessant labour of their hands, and where, when the mischief which followed happened, they secured their wives and children, so as they could never be found; they having, by sticking innumerable stakes and poles of the wood, which as I said, grew so easily, made a grove impassable, except in one place, where they climbed up to get over the outside part, and then went in by ways of their own leaving.

As to the three reprobates, as I justly call them, though they were much civilized by their new settlement, compared to what they were before, and were not so quarrelsome, having not the same opportunity; yet one of the certain companions of a profligate mind never left them, and that was their idleness. It is true they planted corn, and made fences; but Solomon's words were never better verified than in them: 'I went by the vineyard of the slothful, and it was all overgrown with thorns.' For when the Spaniards came to view their crop, they could not see it in some places for weeds; the hedge had several gaps in it, where the wild goats had gotten in and eaten up the corn; perhaps here and there a dead bush was crammed in, to stop them out for the present; but it was only shutting the stable-door after the steed was stolen: whereas, when they looked on the colony of the other two, there was

the very face of industry and success upon all they did, there was not a weed to be seen in all their corn, or a gap in any of their hedges; and, they, on the other hand, verified Solomon's words in another place: 'That the diligent hand maketh rich.' For every thing grew and thrived, and they had plenty within and without; they had more tame cattle than the others, more utensils and necessaries within doors, and yet more pleasure and diversion too.

It is true, the wives of the three were very handy and cleanly within doors; and, having learned the English ways of dressing and cooking from one of the other Englishmen, who, as I said, was a cooke's mate on board the ship, they dressed their husband's victuals very nicely and well; whereas the other could not be brought to understand it; but then the husband, who, as I said, had been cook's mate, did it himself. But as for the husbands of the three wives, they loitered about, fetched turtle eggs, and caught fish and birds: in a word, any thing but labour; and they fared accordingly. The diligent lived well and comfortably, and the slothful lived hard and beggarly; and so I believe, generally speaking, it is all over the world.

But now I come to a scene different from all that had happened before, either to them or to me; the original of the story was this—

Early one morning there came on shore five or six canoes of Indians, or savages, call them what you please; and there is no room to doubt, that they came upon the old errand of feeding upon their slaves: but that part was now so familiar to the Spaniards, and to our men too, that they did not concern themselves about it as I did; but, having been made sensible by their experience, that their only business was to lie concealed, and that, if they were not seen by any of the savages, they would go off again quietly when their business was done, having as yet not the least notion of there being inhabitants in the island; I say, having been made sensible of this, they had nothing to do but to give notice to  
all

all the three plantations to keep within doors, and not to shew themselves; only placing a scout in a secure place, to give notice when the boats went off to sea again.

This was without doubt very right; but a disaster spoiled all these measures, and made it known among the savages, that there were inhabitants there; which was, in the end, the desolation of almost the whole colony. After the canoes with the savages were gone off, the Spaniards peeped abroad again, and some of them had the curiosity to go to the place where they had been, to see what they had been doing. Here, to their great surprize, they found three savages left behind, and lying fast asleep upon the ground; it was supposed they had either been so gorged with their inhuman feast, that, like beasts, they were asleep, and would not stir when the others went; or they were wandered into the woods, and did not come back in time to be taken in.

The Spaniards were greatly surprised at this sight, and perfectly at a loss what to do. The Spanish governor, as it happened, was with them, and his advice was asked; but he professed he knew not what to do. As for slaves, they had enough already; and as to killing them, they were none of them inclined to that. The Spaniard governor told me they could not think of shedding innocent blood; for as to them, the poor creatures had done no wrong, invaded none of their property, and they thought they had no just quarrel against them to take away their lives.

And here I must, in justice to these Spaniards, observe, that let all the accounts of Spanish cruelty in Mexico and Peru be what they will, I never met with seventeen men, of any nation whatsoever, in any foreign country, who were so universally modest, temperate, virtuous, so very good humoured, and so courteous, as these Spaniards; and as to cruelty, they had nothing of it in their very nature; no inhumanity, no barbarity, no outrageous passions, and yet all of them men of great courage and spirit.

Their temper and calmness had appeared, in their bearing the unsufferable usage of the three Englishmen; and their justice and humanity appeared now in the case of the savages, as above. After some consultation, they resolved upon this, that they would lie still awhile longer, till, if possible, these three men might be gone; but then the governor Spaniard recollected that the three savages had no boat, and that, if they were left to rove about the island, they would certainly discover that there were inhabitants in it; and so they should be undone that way.

Upon this they went back again, and there lay the fellows fast asleep still: so they resolved to awaken them and take them prisoners; and they did so. The poor fellows were strangely frightened when they were seized upon and bound, and afraid, like the women, that they should be murdered and eaten; for it seems, those people think all the world do as they do, eating men's flesh, but they were soon made easy as to that, and away they carried them.

It was very happy for them, that they did not carry them home to their castle; I mean, to my palace under the hill; but they carried them first to the bower, where was the chief of their country-work; such as keeping the goats, planting the corn, &c. and afterwards they carried them to the habitation of the two Englishmen.

Here they were set to work, though it was not much they had for them to do. And, whether it was by negligence in guarding them, or that they thought the fellows could not mend themselves, I know not, but one of them ran away; and, taking into the woods, they could never hear of him more.

They had good reason to believe he got home again soon after, in some other boats or canoes of savages, who came on shore three or four weeks afterwards, and who, carrying on their revels as usual, went off again in two days time. This thought terrified them exceedingly; for they concluded, and that not without good



good cause indeed, that if this fellow got safe home among his comrades, he would certainly give them an account that there were people in the island, as also how weak and few they were; for this savage, as I observed before, had never been told, as it was very happy he had not, how many there were, or where they lived; nor had he ever seen or heard the fire of any of their guns, much less had they shewn him any other of their retired places, such as the cave in the valley, or the new retreat which the two Englishmen had made, and the like.

The first testimony they had, that this fellow had given intelligence of them was, that about two months after this, six canoes of savages, with about seven or eight, or ten men in a canoe, came rowing along the north-side of the island, where they never used to come before, and landed about an hour after sun-rise, at a convenient place, about a mile from the habitation of the two Englishmen, where this escaped man had been kept. As the Spaniard governor said, had they been all there, the damage would not have been so much, for not a man of them would have escaped; the case differed now very much; for two men to fifty were too much odds. The two men had the happiness to discover them about a league off, so that it was above an hour before they landed; and, as they landed about a mile from their huts, it was some time before they could come at them. Now having great reason to believe that they were betrayed, the first thing they did was to bind the slaves which were left, and cause two of the three men, whom they brought with the women, who, it seems, proved very faithful to them, to lead them with their two wives, and whatever they could carry away with them to their retired place in the woods, which I have spoken of above, and there to bind the two fellows hand and foot till they heard farther.

In the next place, seeing the savages were all come on shore, and that they bent their course directly that way

way, they opened the fences where their milch-goats were kept, and drove them all out, leaving their goats to straggle into the wood, whither they pleased, that the savages might think they were all bred wild: but the rogue who came with them was too cunning for that, and gave them an account of it all; for they went directly to the place.

When the two poor frightened men had secured their wives and goods, they sent the other slave they had of the three who came with the women, and who was at their place, by accident, away to the Spaniards, with all speed, to give them the alarm, and desire speedy help; and in the mean time they took their arms, and what ammunition they had, and retreated towards the place in the wood where their wives were sent, keeping at a distance; yet so that they might see, if possible, which way the savages took.

They had not gone far, when, from a rising ground, they could see the little army of their enemies come on directly to their habitation, and in a moment more, could see all their huts and household-stuff flaming up together, to their great grief and mortification; for they had a very great loss, and to them irretrievable, at least for some time. They kept their station for awhile, till they found the savages, like wild beasts, spread themselves all over the place, rummaging every way, and every place they could think of, in search for prey; and in particular, for the people, of whom it plainly appeared they had intelligence.

The two Englishmen seeing this, thinking themselves not secure where they stood, because, as it was likely some of the wild people might come that way, so they might come too many together; thought it proper to make another retreat about half a mile farther, believing, as it afterwards happened, that the farther they strolled, the fewer would be together.

The next halt was at the entrance into a very thick-grown part of the woods, and where an old trunk of a tree

tree stood, which was hollow, and very large; and in this tree they both took their standing, resolving to see what might offer.

They had not stood here long, when two of the savages appeared running directly that way, as if they had already notice where they stood, and were coming up to attack them; and a little way farther, they espied three more coming after them, and five more beyond them, all coming the same way; besides which, they saw seven or eight more at a distance, running another way; for, in a word, they ran every way, like sportsmen beating for their game.

The poor men were now in great perplexity, whether they should stand and keep their posture, or fly: but after a very short debate with themselves, they considered that if the savages ranged the country thus, before help came, they might, perhaps, find out their retreat in the woods, and then all would be lost; so they resolved to stand them there; and if there were too many to deal with, then they would get to the top of the tree, from whence they doubted not to defend themselves, (fire excepted) as long as their ammunition lasted, though all the savages that were landed, which were near fifty, were to attack them.

Having resolved upon this, they next considered whether they should fire at the two first, or wait for the three, and take the middle party; by which the two and the five that followed would be separated. At length they resolved to let the first two pass by, unless they should espy them in the tree, and come to attack them. The two first savages also confirmed them in this resolution, by turning a little from them towards another part of the wood; but the three, and the five after them, came forwards directly to the tree, as if they had known the Englishmen were there.

Seeing them come so straight towards them, they resolved to take them in a line as they came; and as they resolved to fire but one at a time, perhaps the first shot might hit them all three; to which purpose, the man

who

who was to fire, put three or four bullets into his piece; and, having a fair loop-hole, as it were, from a broken hole in the tree, he took a sure aim, without being seen, waiting till they were within about thirty yards of the tree, so that he could not miss.

While they were thus waiting, and the savages came on, they plainly saw that one of the three was the run-away that had escaped from them, and they both knew him distinctly, and resolved that, if possible, he should not escape, though they should both fire; so the other stood ready with his piece, that if he did not drop at the first shot he should be sure to have a second.

But the first was too good a marksman to miss his aim; for as the savages kept near one another, a little behind in a line, he fired, and hit two of them directly. The foremost was killed outright, being shot in the head; the second, which was the run away Indian, was shot through the body, and fell, but was not quite dead; and the third had a little scratch in the shoulder, perhaps by the same ball that went through the body of the second; and being dreadfully frightened, though not much hurt, sat down upon the ground, screaming and yelling in a hideous manner.

The five that were behind, more frightened with the noise than sensible of their danger, stood still at first; for the woods made the sound a thousand times louder than it really was; the echoes rattling from one side to the other, and the fowls rising from all parts, screaming and making several kinds of noise, according to their kind, just as it was when I fired the first gun that, perhaps, was ever shot off in that place since it was an island.

However all being silent again, and they not knowing what the matter was, came on unconcerned till they came to that place where their companions lay, in a condition miserable enough: and here the poor ignorant creatures, not sensible that they were within reach of the same mischief, stood all of a huddle over the wounded man, talking, and as may be supposed, enquiring of him



him how he came to be hurt; and who, it is very rational to believe, told them that a flash of fire first, and immediately after that, thunder from their gods had killed those two and wounded him. This, I say, is rational; for nothing is more certain than that, as they saw no man near them, and had never heard a gun in all their lives, or so much as ever heard of one; neither knew any thing of killing or wounding at a distance with fire and bullets; if they had, one might reasonably believe that they would not have stood so unconcerned, in viewing the fate of their fellows, without some apprehension of their own.

Our two men, though, as they confessed to me, it grieved them to be obliged to kill so many poor creatures, who at the same time had no notion of their danger; yet, having them all thus in their power, and the first having loaded his piece again, resolved to let fly both together among them; and singling out by agreement which to aim at, they shot together, and killed or very much wounded four of them; the fifth, frightened even to death, though not hurt, fell with the rest; so that our men seeing them all fall together, thought they had killed them all.

The belief that the savages were all killed, made our two men come boldly from the tree before they had charged their guns again, which was a wrong step; and they were under some surprize when they came to the place and found no less than four of the men alive, and of them two very little hurt, and one not at all. This obliged them to fall upon them with the stocks of their muskets, and first they made sure of the run-away savage that had been the cause of all the mischief; and of another that was hurt in his knee, and put them out of their pain; then the man that was not hurt at all, came and knelt down to them, with his two hands held up, and made piteous moan to them, by gestures and signs, for his life; but could not say one word to them that they could understand.

However

However they made signs to him to sit down at the foot of a tree : and one of the Englishmen, with a piece of rope-twine, which he had by great chance in his pocket, tied his feet fast together, and his hands behind him, and there they left him ; and with what speed they could, made after the other two which were gone before, fearing they, or any more of them, should find the way to their covered place in the woods, where their wives and the few goods they had left lay. They came once in sight of the two men, but it was at a great distance ; however, they had the satisfaction to see them cross over a valley, towards the sea, the quite contrary way from that which led to their retreat, which they were afraid of ; and, being satisfied with that, they went back to the tree where they left their prisoner ; who, as they supposed, was delivered by his comrades, for he was gone, and the two pieces of rope-yarn, with which they had bound him, lay just at the foot of the tree.

They were now in as great a concern as before, not knowing what course to take, or how near the enemy might be, or in what number ; so they resolved to go away to the place where their wives were, to see if all was well there, and to make them easy, who were in fright enough to be sure ; for though the savages were their own country-folk, yet they were most terribly afraid of them, and perhaps the more from the knowledge they had of them.

When they came thither, they found the savages had been in the wood, and very near the place, but had not found it ; for indeed it was inaccessible, by the trees standing so thick, as before, unless the persons seeking it had been directed by those who knew it, which these were not ; they found, therefore, every thing very safe, only the women in a terrible fright. While they were here, they had the comfort of seven of the Spaniards coming to their assistance ; the other ten with their servants, and old Friday, (I mean, Friday's father) were gone in a body to defend their bower, and the corn and cattle that were kept there, in case the savages

savages should have rowed over to that side of the country; but they did not spread so far. With the seven Spaniards came one of the savages; who, as I said, were their prisoners formerly; and with them also came the savage whom the Englishmen had left bound hand and foot at the tree: for, it seems, they came that way, saw the slaughter of the seven men, and unbound the eighth, and brought him along with them; where, however, they were obliged to bind him again, as they had done the two others who were left when the third ran away.

The prisoners began now to be a burden to them; and they were so afraid of their escaping, that they thought they were under an absolute necessity to kill them for their own preservation: however, the Spaniard governor would not consent to it; but ordered that they should be sent out of the way to my old cave in the valley, and be kept there with two Spaniards to guard them and give them food: which was done; and they were bound there hand and foot for that night.

When the Spaniards came, the two Englishmen were so encouraged, that they could not satisfy themselves to stay any longer there; but, taking five of the Spaniards and themselves, with four musquets and a pistol among them, and two stout quarter-staves, away they went in quest of the savages. And first, they came to the tree where the men lay that had been killed; but it was easy to see that some more of the savages had been there; for they attempted to carry their dead men away, and had dragged two of them a good way, but had given it over. From thence they advanced to the first rising ground, where they had stood and seen their camp destroyed, and where they had the mortification still to see some of the smoke; but neither could they here see any of the savages. They then resolved, though with all possible caution, to go forward towards their ruined plantation: but, a little before they arrived thither, coming in sight of the sea-shore, they saw plainly the savages all embarking again in their canoes, in order to be gone.

They seemed sorry, at first, that there was no way to come at them, to give them a parting blow; but, upon the whole, were very well satisfied to be rid of them.

The poor Englishmen being now twice ruined, and all their improvements destroyed, the rest all agreed to come and help them to rebuild, and to assist them with needful supplies. Their three countrymen, who were not yet noted for having the least inclination to do any good; as soon as they heard of it, (for they, living remote eastward, knew nothing of the matter till all was over) came and offered their help and assistance; and did very friendly work for several days to restore their habitations, and make necessaries for them: and thus, in a little time, they were set upon their legs again.

About two days after this, they had the farther satisfaction of seeing three of the savages canoes come driving on shore, and at some distance from them, with two drowned men, by which they had reason to believe, that they had met with a storm at sea, which had overset some of them; for it had blown very hard the night after they went off.

However, as some might miscarry; so, on the other hand, enough of them escaped to inform the rest as well of what they had done, as of what happened to them, and to spirit them on to another enterprize of the same nature; which they, it seems, resolved to attempt, with sufficient force to carry all before them: for except what the first man had told them of the inhabitants, they could say little to it of their own knowledge, for they never saw one man; and, the fellow being killed that had affirmed it, they had no other witness to confirm it.

It was five or six months after this before they heard any more of the savages; in which time our men were in hopes they had not forgot their former bad luck, or had given over the hopes of better: when, on a sudden they were invaded by a most formidable fleet of no less than twenty-eight canoes full of savages.

with



As the savages came on shore in the evening, and at the eastermost side of the island, our men had that night to consult and consider what to do; and, in the first place, knowing that their being entirely concealed was their only safety before, and would much more be so now, while the number of their enemies was so great; they therefore resolved, first of all, to take down the huts, which were built for the two Englishmen, and drive away their goats to the old cave; because they supposed the savages would go directly thither, as soon as it was day, to play the old game over again, though they did not now land within two leagues of it.

In the next place, they drove away all the flock of goats they had at the old bower, as I call it, which belonged to the Spaniards; and, in short, left as little appearance of inhabitants any where as possible; and the next morning early they posted themselves with all their force at the plantation of the two men, waiting for their coming. As they guessed, so it happened: these new invaders, leaving their canoes at the east end of the island, came ranging along the shore directly towards the place, to the number of two hundred and fifty, as near as our men could judge. Our army was but small indeed; but that which was worse, they had no arms for all their number neither. The whole account, it seems, stood thus. First, as to men—

17 Spaniards.	11 Muskets.
5 Englishmen.	5 Pistols.
1 Old Friday, or Friday's father.	3 Fowling-pieces.
3 Slaves, taken with the women, who proved very faithful.	5 Muskets, or fowling-pieces, which were taken by me from the mutinous seamen whom I reduced.
3 Other slaves, who lived with the Spaniards.	2 Swords.
	3 Old halberts.

29

To arm these, they had

29

§ 2

To

To their slaves they did not give either musket or fusil; but they had every one an halbert, or a long staff, like a quarter-staff, with a great spike of iron fastened into each end of it, and by his side a hatchet; also every one of our men had hatchets. Two of the women could not be prevailed upon, but they would come into the fight; and they had bows and arrows, which the Spaniards had taken from the savages when the first action happened.

The Spaniard governor, commanded the whole; and William Atkins, who, was most daring and bold, commanded under him. The savages came forward like lions; and our men, which was the worst of their fate, had no advantage in their situation: only that Will Atkins, who now proved a most useful fellow, with six men, was planted just behind a small thicket of bushes, as an advanced guard, with orders to let the first of pass by, and then fire into the middle of them; and as soon as he had fired, to make his retreat, as nimbly as he could, round a part of the wood, and so come in behind the Spaniards where they stood, having a thicket of trees all before them.

When the savages came on, they ran straggling about every way in heaps, out of all manner of order; and Will Atkins let about fifty of them pass by him; then seeing the rest come in a very thick throng, he ordered three of his men to fire, having loaded their muskets with six or seven bullets apiece, about as big as large pistol bullets. How many they killed or wounded they knew not; but the consternation and surprize was inexpressible among the savages, who were frightened to the last degree, to hear such a dreadful noise, and see their men killed, and others hurt, but see no body that did it: when, in the middle of their fright, William Atkins, and his other three, let fly again among the thickest of them; and, in less than a minute, the first three being loaded again, gave them a third volley.

Had William Atkins and his men retired immediately, as soon as they had fired, as they were ordered

to

to do, or had the rest of the body been at hand, to have poured in their shot continually, the savages had been effectually routed: for the terror that was among them came principally from this: viz. that they were killed by the gods of thunder and lightning, and could see nobody that hurt them; but William Atkins, staying to load again, discovered the cheat. Some of the savages who were at a distance, spying them, came upon them behind; and, though Atkins and his men fired at them also two or three times, and killed above twenty, retiring as fast as they could, yet they wounded Atkins himself, and killed one of his fellow Englishmen with their arrows; as they did afterwards one Spaniard, and one of the Indian slaves who came with the women. This slave was a most gallant fellow, and fought most desperately, killing five of them with his own hand, having no weapon but one of the armed staves and a hatchet.

Our men being thus hard put to it, Atkins wounded and two other men killed, retreated to a rising ground in the wood; and the Spaniards, after firing three volleys upon them, retreated also: for their number was so great, and they were so desperate, that though above fifty of them were killed, and more than so many wounded, yet they came on in the face of our men, fearless of danger, and shot their arrows like a cloud; and it was observed, that their wounded men, who were not quite disabled, were made outrageous by their wounds, and fought like madmen.

When our men retreated, they left the Spaniard and the Englishman that were killed behind them; and the savages, when they came up to them, mangled their bodies in a wretched manner, breaking their arms, legs, and heads, with their clubs and wooden swords, like true savages. But, finding our men were gone, they did not seem to pursue them, but drew themselves up into a kind of a ring, which is, it seems, their custom; and shouted twice, in token of their victory. After which, they had the mortification to see several of

their wounded men fall, dying with the mere loss of blood.

The Spaniard governor having drawn his little body up together upon a rising ground, Atkins, though he was wounded, persuaded him to march and charge them again all together at once. But the Spaniard replied—‘Seignior Atkins, you see how their wounded men fight; let them alone till morning: all these wounded men will be stiff and sore with their wounds, and faint with the loss of blood; and so we shall have the fewer to engage.’

The advice was good; but Will Atkins replied merrily—‘That’s true, Seignior, and so shall I too; and that’s the reason I would go on while I am warm.’ ‘Well, Seignior Atkins, (says the Spaniard) you have behaved gallantly, and done your part; we will fight for you, if you cannot come on: but I think it best to stay till morning.’ This was agreed to.

But as it was a clear moon-light night, and they found the savages in great disorder about their dead and wounded men, and a great hurry and noise among them where they lay, they afterwards resolved to fall upon them in the night, especially if they could come to give them but one volley before they were discovered. This they had a fair opportunity to do; for one of the two Englishmen, in whose quarter it was where the fight began, led them round, between the woods and the sea-side, westward, and turning short south, they came so near where the thickest of them lay, that before they were seen or heard, eight of them fired in among them and did dreadful execution upon them: in half a minute more, eight others fired after them, pouring in their small shot in such a quantity, that abundance were killed and wounded; and all this while they were not able to see who hurt them, or which way to fly.

The Spaniards charged again, with the utmost expedition, and then divided themselves into three bodies, and resolved to fall in among them all together. They had in each body eight persons; that is to say, twenty  
four;



four; whereof were twenty-two men, and the two women, who, by the way, fought desperately.

They divided the fire arms equally in each party, and also the halberts and staves. They would have had the women keep back, but they said, they were resolved to die with their husbands. Having thus formed their little army, they marched out from among the trees, and came up to the face of the enemy, shouting and hallooing as loud as they could. The savages stood all together, but were in the utmost confusion, hearing the noise of our men shouting from three quarters together. They would have fought if they had seen us; and, as soon as we came near enough to be seen, some arrows were shot, and poor old Friday was wounded, though not dangerously. Our men, however, gave them no time; but, running up to them, fired among them three ways, and then fell in with the but-ends of their muskets, their swords, armed staves, and hatchets, and laid about them so forcibly, that in a word, they set up a dismal screaming and howling, flying to save their lives which way soever they could.

Our men were tired with the execution; and killed, or mortally wounded, in the two fights, about one hundred and eighty of them. The rest, being frightened out of their wits, scoured through the woods, and over the hills, with all the speed and fear that nimble feet could help them to do; and, as we did not trouble ourselves much to pursue them, they got all together to the sea-side, where they landed, and where their canoes lay. But their disaster was not at an end yet; for it blew a terrible storm of wind that evening from the sea to the shore, so that it was impossible for them to put off; nay, the storm continuing all night, when the tide came up, their canoes were most of them driven by the surge of the sea so high upon the shore, that it required infinite toil to get them off; and some of them were even dashed to pieces against the beach, or against one another.

Our men though glad of their victory, yet got little  
rest

rest that night; but having refreshed themselves as well as they could, they resolved to march to that part of the island where the savages were fled, and see what posture they were in. This necessarily led them over the place where the fight had been, and where they found several of the poor creatures not quite dead, and yet past recovering life: a sight disagreeable enough to generous minds; for a truly great man, though obliged by the law of battle to destroy his enemy, takes no delight in his misery.

However, there was no need to give any order in this case; for their own savages who were their servants dispatched those poor creatures with their hatchets.

At length they came in view of the place where the more miserable remains of the savages army lay, where there appeared about one hundred still; their posture was generally sitting upon the ground, with their knees up towards their mouth, and their head put between the hands, leaning down upon the knees.

When our men came within two musket-shot of them, the Spaniard governor ordered two muskets to be fired without ball, to alarm them. This he did, that by their countenance he might know what to expect; viz. whether they were still in heart to fight, or were so heartily beaten, as to be dispirited and discouraged, and so he might manage accordingly.

This stratagem succeeded; for as soon as the savages heard the first gun, and saw the flash of the second, they started up upon their feet in the greatest consternation imaginable; and, as our men advanced swiftly towards them, they all ran screaming and yawling away, with a kind of a howling noise, which our men did not understand, and had never heard before; and thus they ran up the hills into the country.

At first, our men had much rather the weather had been calm, and they had all gone away to sea. But they did not then consider, that this might probably have been the occasion of their coming again in such multitudes as not to be resisted; or, at least, to come so many

many and so often, as would quite desolate the island, and starve them. Will Atkins, therefore, who not withstanding his wound, kept always with them, proved the best counsellor in this case. His advice was, to take the advantage that offered, and clap in between them and their boats, and so deprive them of the capacity of ever returning any more to plague the island.

They consulted long about this, and some were against it, for fear of making the wretches fly into the woods, and live there desperate; and so they should have them to hunt like wild beasts, be afraid to stir about their business, and have their plantation continually rifled, all their tame goats destroyed, and, in short, be reduced to a life of continual distress.

Will Atkins told them, they had better have to do with one hundred men, than with one hundred nations; that as they must destroy their boats, so they must destroy the men, or be all of them destroyed themselves. In a word, he shewed them the necessity of it so plainly that they all came into it; so they went to work immediately with the boats, and, getting some dry wood together from a dead tree, they tried to set some of them on fire; but they were so wet, that they would scarce burn. However, the fire so burned the upper part, that it soon made them unfit for swimming in the sea as boats. When the Indians saw what they were about, some of them came running out of the woods; and coming as near as they could to our men, kneeled down, and cried—‘*Oa, oa, waramakoa*’ and some other words of their language, which none of the others understood any thing of: but as they made pitiful gestures, and strange noises, it was easy to understand, they begged to have their boats spared, and that they would be gone, and never come thither again.

But our men were now satisfied, that they had no way to preserve themselves or to save their colony, but effectually to prevent any of these people from ever going home again; depending upon this, that if ever so much as one of them got back into their country to tell the story,

story, the colony was undone. So that, letting them know that they should not have any mercy, they fell to work with their canoes, and destroyed them every one that the storm had not destroyed before; at the sight of which the savages raised a hideous cry in the woods, which our people heard plain enough; after which they ran about the island like distracted men; so that, in a word, our men did not really know at first what to do with them.

Nor did the Spaniards, with all their prudence, consider, that while they made those people thus desperate, they ought to have kept good guard at the same time upon their plantations; for though it is true they had driven away their cattle, and the Indians did not find their main retreat; (I mean my old cattle at the hill, not my cave in the valley;) yet they found out my plantation at the bower, and pulled it all to pieces, and all the fences and planting about it; trod all the corn under foot, tore up the vines and grapes, being just then almost ripe; and did our men an inestimable damage, though to themselves not the smallest kind of service.

Though our men were able to fight them upon all occasions, yet they were in no condition to pursue them, or hunt them up and down: for as they were too nimble of foot for our men when they found them single, so our men durst not go about single, for fear of being surrounded with their numbers.

The extremity and distress they were reduced to was great, and indeed deplorable; but, at the same time, our men were also brought to very hard circumstances by them; for though their retreats were preserved, yet their provision was destroyed, and their harvest spoiled; and what to do, or which way to turn themselves they knew not. The only refuge they had now, was the stock of cattle they had in the valley by the cave, and some little corn which grew there. The three Englishmen, William Atkins, and his comrades, were now reduced to two, one of them being killed by an arrow, which  
struck,



struck him on the side of his head, just under the temple, so that he never spoke more; and it was very remarkable, that this was the same barbarous fellow who cut the poor savage slave with his hatchet, and who afterwards intended to have murdered the Spaniards.

I looked upon their case to have been worse at this time, than mine was at any time after I first discovered the grains of barley and rice, and got into the method of planting and raising my corn, and my tame cattle; for now they had, as I may say, a hundred wolves on the island, which would devour every thing they could come at, yet could be very hardly come at themselves.

The first thing they concluded, when they saw what their circumstances were, was, that they would, if possible drive them up to the farther part of the island, south-east, that if any more savages came on shore, they might not find one another; then, that they would daily hunt and harrafs them, and kill as many of them as they could come at, till they had reduced their number; and if they could at last tame them, and bring them to any thing, they would give them corn, and teach them how to plant and live upon their daily labour.

In order to this, they followed them, and so terrified them with their guns, that in a few days, if any of them fired a gun at an Indian, if he did not hit him, yet he would fall down for fear; and so dreadfully frightened they were, that they kept out of sight farther and farther; till at last our men following them, and every day almost killing and wounding some of them, they kept up in the woods and hollow places so much, that it reduced them to the utmost misery for want of food; and many were afterwards found dead in the woods, without any hurt, but merely starved to death.

When our men found this, it made their hearts relent, and pity moved them; especially the Spaniard governor, who was the most gentleman like, generous-minded man, that I ever met with in my life: and he proposed, if possible, to take one of them alive, and bring him to understand what they meant, so far as to be able to act

as interpreter, and to go among them, and see if they might be brought to some conditions, that might be depended upon to save their lives and to do us no injury.

It was some time before any of them could be taken ; but, being weak, and half starved, one of them was at last surprized, and made a prisoner ; he was fullen at first, and would neither eat nor drink ; but finding himself kindly used, and victuals given him, and no violence offered him ; he at last grew tractable, and came to himself.

They brought old Friday to him, who talked often with him, and told him how kind the others would be to them all ; that they would not only save their lives, but would give them a part of the island to live in, provided they would give satisfaction, that they should keep in their own bounds, and not come beyond them, to injure or prejudice others ; and that they should have corn given them, to plant and make it grow for their bread, and some bread given them for their present subsistence : and old Friday bade the fellow go and talk with the rest of his countrymen, and see what they said to it ; assuring them, that if they did not agree immediately, they should all be destroyed.

The poor wretches, thoroughly humbled and reduced in number to about thirty seven, closed with the proposal at the first offer, and begged to have some food given them ; upon which twelve Spaniards and two Englishmen, well armed, and three Indian slaves and old Friday marched to the place where they were. The three Indian slaves carried them a large quantity of bread, and some rice boiled up to cakes, and dried in the sun, and three live goats ; and they were ordered to go to the side of a hill, where they sat down, eat the provisions very thankfully, and were the most faithful fellows to their words that could be thought of ; for, except when they came to beg victuals and directions, they never came out of their bounds ; and there they lived when I came to the island, and I went to see them.

They

They had taught them both to plant corn, make bread, breed tame goats, and milk them. They wanted nothing but wives, and they soon would have been a nation. They were confined to a neck of land, surrounded with high rocks behind them, and lying plain towards the sea before them, on the south-east corner of the island. They had land enough, and it was very good and fruitful; for they had a piece of land about a mile and a half broad, and three or four miles in length.

Our men taught them to make wooden spades, such as I made for myself; and gave among them twelve hatchets, and three or four knives; and there they lived, the most subjected, innocent creatures that ever were heard of.

After this, the colony enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, with respect to the savages, till I came to revisit them, which was in about two years. Not but that now and then some canoes of savages came on shore for their triumphal unnatural feasts; but as they were of several nations, and, perhaps, had never heard of those who came before, or the reason of it, they did not make any search or enquiry after their countrymen; and if they had, it would have been very hard for them to have found them out.

Thus, I think, I have given a full account of all that happened to them, to my return; at least, that was worth notice. The Indians, or savages, were wonderfully civilized by them, and they frequently went among them; but forbid, on pain of death, any of the Indians coming to them, because they would not have their settlements betrayed again.

One thing was very remarkable, viz. that they taught the savages to make wicker-work, or baskets; but they soon out-did their masters, for they made abundance of most ingenious things in wicker-work; particularly, all sorts of baskets, sieves, bird cages, cupboards, &c. as also chairs to sit on, stools, beds, couches, and abundance of other things, being very ingenious at such work when they were once put in the way of it.

My coming was a particular relief to these people, because we furnished them with knives, scissars, spades, shovels, pick-axes, and all things of that kind which they could want.

With the help of these tools they were so very handy, that they came at last to build up their huts or houses, very handsomely; raddling, or working it up like basket work all the way round, which was a very extraordinary piece of ingenuity, and looked very odd; but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat, as well as against all sorts of vermin; and our men were so taken with it, that they got the wild savages to come and do the like for them; so that when I came to see the two Englishmens colonies, they looked, at a distance, as if they lived all like bees in a hive; and as for Will Atkins, who was now become a very industrious, necessary, and sober fellow, he had made himself such a tent of basket-work, as I believe was never seen; it was one hundred and twenty paces round on the outside, as I measured by my steps; the walls were as close worked as a basket, in pannels or squares, thirty-two in number, and very strong, standing about seven feet high: in the middle was another, not above twenty-two paces round, but built stronger, being eight square in its form, and in the eight corners, stood eight very strong posts, round the top of which he had laid strong pieces, joined together with wooden pins, from which he laid a pyramid before the roof of eight rafters, very handsomely constructed, and joined together very well, though he had no nails, and only a few iron spikes which he had made himself out of the old iron which I had left there; and, indeed, this fellow shewed abundance of ingenuity in several things which he had no knowledge of: he made himself a forge, with a pair of wooden bellows to blow the fire; he made himself charcoal for his work, and formed out of one of the iron crows a middling good anvil to hammer upon; in this manner he made many things, but especially, hooks, staples, and spikes, bolts and hinges.

The



The outer circuit was covered, as a lean-to, all round this inner apartment, and long rafters lay from the thirty-two angles, to the top posts of the inner-house, being about twenty-feet distant; so that there was a space like a walk, within the outer wicker-wall, and without the inner, near twenty feet wide.

The inner place he partitioned off with the same wicker-work, but much fairer, and divided into six apartments, so that he had six rooms on a floor, and out of every one of these there was a door; first, into the entry or coming into the main tent, and another door into the space or walk that was round it; so that this walk was also divided into six equal parts, which served not only for a retreat, but to store up any necessaries which the families had occasion for. These six spaces not taking up the whole circumference, what other apartments the outer circle had, were thus ordered: As soon as you were in at the door of the outer circle, you had a short passage straight before you to the door of the inner house; but on either side was a wicker partition, and a door in it, by which you went, first into a large room or store-house, twenty feet wide, and about thirty feet long, and through that into another not quite so long. So that in the outer circle were ten handsome rooms, six of which were only to be come at through the apartments of the inner tent, and served as closets or retired rooms to the respective chambers of the inner circle; and four large warehouses or barns; or what you please to call them; which went in through one another, two on either hand of the passage, that led through the outer door to the inner tent.

Such a piece of basket-work, I believe, was never seen in the world; nor an house or tent so neatly contrived, much less so built. In this great bee-hive lived the three families; that is to say, Will Atkins and his companion; the third was killed but his wife remained with three children; for she was, it seems, big with child when he died; and the other two were not at all backward to give the widow her full share of every thing

hing ; I mean, as to their corn, milk, grapes, &c. and when they killed a kid, or found a turtle on the shore ; so that they all lived well enough, though, it was true, they were not so industrious as the other two, as has been observed already.

One thing, however, cannot be omitted, viz. that as for religion, I don't know that there was any thing of that kind among them : they pretty often, indeed, put one another in mind that there was a God, by the very common method of seamen, viz. swearing by his name. Nor were their poor ignorant savage wives much the better for having been married to Christians, as we must call them ; for as they knew very little of God themselves, so they were utterly incapable of entering into any discourse with their wives about a God, or to talk any thing to them concerning religion.

The utmost of all the improvement which I could say the wives had made from them, was, that they had taught them to speak English pretty well ; and all the children they had, which were near twenty in all, were taught to speak English too, from their first learning to speak, though they at first spoke it in a very broken manner like their mothers. There were none of these children above six years old when I came thither ; for it was not much above seven years that they had fetched these five savage ladies over ; but they had all been pretty fruitful, for they had all children, more or less. I think the cook's mate's wife was big of her sixth child ; and the mothers were all a good sort of well-governed, quiet, laborious women, modest and decent, helpful to one another, mighty observant and subject to their masters, (I cannot call them husbands) and wanted nothing but to be well instructed in the Christian religion, and to be legally married ; both which were happily brought about afterwards by my means, or, at least, by the consequence of my coming among them.

